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This handbook is designed to acquaint school personnel with data relevant to the Afro-American in the western United States. The first five chapters ("The Significance of the Afro-American People," "We Are All Africans," "The West's Afro-American Heritage," "Afro-Americans in the West Today," and "American Negro Cultural Characteristics: An Overview") provide a definition of "Afro-American and historical and cultural information about the status of the Afro-American in the West from 1530 to the present. Chapter 6 ("Segregation and Integration: The Multi-Ethnic or Uni-Ethnic School") outlines arguments for and against types of school integration and recommends the "integrated multi-cultural school." The seventh chapter ("Suggestions for Teachers and Administrators") offers suggestions for establishing a school atmosphere to provide greater motivation for Afro-American students as well as suggestions for curriculum changes and fuller use of the total educational resources of a community. The final chapter ("Guide to Resources and Further Reading") lists more than 300 items (including books, pamphlets, periodicals, and audio-visual materials) concerned with Afro-Americans of the Far West; African history and culture; the Afro-American past; contemporary issues; the education of culturally different and low-income groups; race formation and mixture; black arts; and effects of conquest, colonialism and cultural change. (SG)

AFRO-AMERICANS

IN THE FAR WEST

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE FAR WEST:

A Handbook for Educators

By

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PREFACE

The quantity of published material by and about Afro-Americans has escalated phenomenally in the past few years, creating a situation which is both advantageous and disadvantageous from the viewpoint of the non-specialist. It is good, of course, that Americans of African ancestry are at last assuming their rightful place in the world of letters and that numerous research studies pertinent to Afro-American affairs are now available. On the other hand, the non-specialist will need, periodically, to be supplied with syntheses which attempt to bring together material relevant to matters of special concern.

This handbook represents one effort at synthesis, in this case designed primarily to acquaint school personnel with data relevant to the Afro-American in the western United States. Reference is made to national developments where especially pertinent, and general background information is summarized when important for the understanding of educators; however, the focus is upon the Far West and principally upon California.

An effort has been made to supply school personnel with the kinds of information not easily found elsewhere. For this reason the author has in some sections gone beyond mere synthesis to present the results of original research or of individual observation and has dealt at greater length with certain topics than with others. An effort has been made to avoid duplicating other current handbooks and the reader is instead referred to these in the bibliography.

The author has attempted to be accurate and objective in descriptive and analytical sections and helpful in those that present his suggestions for the improvement of education. In the latter, a principal goal is the application of the author's comprehension of social science theory to the educational process.

Needless to state, the viewpoint presented herein is that of the writer and not necessarily that of the various organizations making the publication of the handbook possible.

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I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE

Americans of African descent, or Afro-Americans, comprise one of the most significant groups of people to be found in the Americas. Perhaps one hundred million strong, Afro-Americans dominate the population of most of the Caribbean republics and constitute a sizeable proportion of the citizenry of Brazil, Surinam, Guyana, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and the United States. Significant strains of African ancestry are also to be found among the people of Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, and elsewhere, but in these countries the African component is often already absorbed or is rapidly disappearing into the general population.

The Afro-American people, considered in the larger dimension, do not comprise a single "ethnic" group. People of part-African descent, often with American Indian and European as well as occasional Asiatic ancestors, are ordinarily to be classified with the national population of the country in which they reside. Thus, a part-African Brazilian is in no sense ethnically Afro-American (and still less, "Negro") but rather is simply a Brazilian. The same is usually also true for persons who are of predominantly African ancestry. A dark-skinned Cuban with "Negroid" characteristics is simply a Cuban who happens to be negro (i.e., black).*

In discussing Afro-Americans, then, we are making reference to a large mass of people who have only one thing in common--the possession of some degree of African ancestry. Most such people are simply to be identified as Venezuelans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, or Colombians, and have so thoroughly mixed with Indians and Europeans as to have lost any black identity. Others, while still remaining "Negroid" in physical appearance, have also become part of a national culture and are now also simply Haitians, Jamaicans, Panamanians, [illegible] Cubans.

The cultural legacy from Africa, rich as it is in the region from Haiti to Brazil, does not always provide any kind of Afro-American identity. All of the national cultures in the region have become Africanized to such an extent that all citizens, whether of African descent or not, share an African cultural legacy. For example, there is no Afro-Brazilian culture which belongs exclusively to Brazilians of African descent. All Brazilians live a way of life which is a complex mixture of African, American Indian, and European traits, and one which varies primarily from region to region or class to class rather than from racial strain to racial strain.

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*The word negro means black in the Spanish language.

The United States would seem, at first glance, to present an exception to the above generalizations. It is true that in an "official" sense the United States is composed of people who are "Negroes" and people who are "whites" and often the dividing line is made to seem rather sharp. In the United States, an "American Negro" identity has developed and, to some degree, at least there also exists a "Negro subculture" or "black culture" which is not shared by the balance of the population. On the other hand, the situation in the United States is not altogether distinct, since millions of United States citizens of part-African ancestry are currently classified not as "Negroes" but as Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, American Indians, Cubans, Louisiana Creoles, or simply as "whites."

Likewise, the African cultural heritage of the United States, from yams and coffee to jazz and calypso is shared by all citizens and not merely by persons of African descent.

The significance of the Afro-American people is, then, a much larger subject than would be the significance of the "American Negro." A new race is being created throughout the Americas, a race which is amalgamating African, European, and American Indian strains, as well as Asiatic elements in certain regions. This new "cosmic" or "universal" race will vary in the relative proportions of African, Indian, and European background but in the region from Brazil through much of the United States and all around the Caribbean the African element will be of great significance.

In a similar manner, the cultures of the Americas are becoming composites of traits derived from Africa and other portions of the world. The African impact upon Europe has always been considerable, from at least the beginnings of civilization in ancient Egypt to the legacy of the Muslim civilizations and the impact of non-Muslim black Africa, and thus the culture brought by Europeans to the "New World" (especially by the Portuguese and Spaniards) was already part-African. In the course of the last five centuries this European-Middle Eastern-African legacy has been still further enriched by cultural elements introduced by black Africans and by their Afro-American descendents.

Throughout the Americas then, regional-national cultures are developing which are unique composites of world-wide legacies. From Brazil to the United States the African component in these composites looms very large indeed.

But the significance of the Afro-American people cannot be summarized solely by reference to racial and cultural contributions. For five centuries Americans of African descent have labored alongside their fellow Americans to produce the modern civilizations of this hemisphere. Serving as explorers, sailors, unpaid slaves, soldiers, artisans, architects, statesmen, revolutionaries, diplomats, musicians, poets, novelists, and in a multitude of other capacities, Americans of African descent have made major contributions whether functioning within the framework of an Afro-American cultural legacy or within the context of the larger national cultures.

In the United States, for instance, it can be conservatively asserted that the wealth of the southern states, and most of the architectural, literary, and artistic accomplishments springing therefrom were built up through the efforts of black labor, free or slave. Without the Negro slave and the free Negro artisan there never would have been any "aristocratic" culture in the Old South and no "country gentlemen" of the type of Thomas Jefferson and George Washington. Similarly, modern Southern economic development and wealthy-class "leisure" society rests upon a base of low-wage labor, principally Negro. When one considers that the Negro (and Indian) slaves were never paid over a period of three centuries and that since the Civil War Negro laborers have been largely underpaid, it becomes quite obvious that the financial debt which the white Southerner owes to the Negro (and Indian) is large indeed.

But the Afro-American's contribution in terms of labor was never confined to the South. New York and Rhode Island, among other northern colonies, always had large numbers of slaves and underpaid free persons of color. As in the South, the financial debt due these people for centuries of toil looms very large.

Elsewhere, Afro-Americans played crucial roles in the development of Spanish Florida, French and Spanish Louisiana, Spanish-Mexican Texas, and the balance of the West. Without the participation of people of color, whether slave or free, French-Spanish Louisiana and Spanish Florida would doubtless have never existed or, at the very least, would have remained extremely underdeveloped. Especially by the late seventeenth century, and all through the eighteenth century, Spanish soldiers of "mulatto" or other mixed-blood racial character were absolutely essential to the defense of the territory from Florida (where they fought against the English and Scots of South Carolina) to California (where they helped to control the Indian population).

In summary, the Afro-American legacy of the United States and of the balance of the Americas is of profound significance and has become, in great part, the collective legacy of all Americans. We may not all be part-African in terms of ancestry, but we are all participants in a part-African historical and cultural heritage.

Afro-American Population Statistics

The following figures are for 1940 and indicate only persons of recognizable African ancestry, i.e., those counted as "Negroes" or "mulattos" in national censuses. Millions of part-Africans (such as many Puerto Ricans) are not included.

	Negroes	Mulattos	Percentage of Total Population
United States	13,500,000	(included in Negroes)	12%
Caribbean Islands	5,500,000	3,000,000	61%
Belice (British Honduras)	15,000	20,000	60%
Panama	83,000	271,000	56%
Colombia	405,000	2,205,000	29%
Venezuela	100,000	1,000,000	31%
Guyana	100,000	80,000	53%
Surinam	17,000	20,000	21%
Brazil	5,800,000	8,280,000	34%
Balance of Americas	330,000	414,000	-
Totals	25,850,000	15,290,000	
Total Afro-Americans	41,140,000		15%

The above totals relate to a population estimate for the Americas of 275,000,000. Current estimates for the latter are in excess of 400,000,000. Thus one should multiply the figures in the list by one-third to obtain minimum approximations for the 1960's. This calculation would yield a total of 55,000,000 persons of African ancestry, an extremely conservative estimate since: (a) The Afro-American population tends to increase at a faster-than-average rate; (b) Light-skinned persons of part-African ancestry are largely excluded from these totals; and (c) American Indian and mestizo (Indian-white) groups with some degree of African ancestry are not included at all.

II. WE ARE ALL AFRICANS

The cumulative evidence of archaeology is indicating more and more that the human species first appeared in Africa. In that sense, as well as in a cultural sense, we are indeed all of African origin.

It is also important to state that we are all humans and that there is only one race--the human race or homo sapiens. There are indeed no such entities as the Mongoloid, Negroid, Caucasoid, Australoid, Americanoid, or Veddoid "races," and this is perhaps the first thing that a student of the Afro-American needs to learn.

Laymen and, later, scholars developed the concept of three or more major human "stocks" or "races" in order to be able to supply some degree of order to their early efforts to understand the complexity of human differences. But these concepts are only useful as very crude tools for initial comprehension. Why?

The idea of there being several major human stocks was developed prior to extensive, scientific observation of human types and resulted primarily from the uncritical reports of travelers, soldiers, and missionaries. Unfortunately, when scholars began to scientifically analyze physical characteristics they at first sought to force their empirical data into the mold created by laymen. Now, when most anthropologists and biologists would dispense with, or radically alter, the idea of "races" they face the difficulty of re-educating millions of laymen who have been taught the old concepts.

To understand the complexity of human types one must always begin with the individual tribe or ethnic group (i.e., a "people"). Generally speaking, each people, such as the Tuareg, Hausa, Yoruba, Masai, or Kikuyu, is a unique group with a unique cluster of physical characteristics. This does not mean that all of the individuals in the group will identically resemble one another but it does mean that there will tend to be a predominant "type" which serves to differentiate, say, the Zuni from the Navajo.

To begin with, then, we must speak of people as being Hopi or Papago instead of American Indian, Yoruba or Ashanti instead of African Negro, and Greek or German instead of Caucasoid. But we can usually also discover that the members of a given tribe or people have not married exclusively from within their own group. That is, they have constantly "exchanged" genes with outsiders, usually neighbors. From this circumstance we tend to find that neighboring peoples often resemble each other, except where recent migrations have introduced dissimilarities.

Ignoring, however, the recent migrations of the last few centuries, it is generally true that one finds a gradual change as one moves from one people to another. Thus, as one moves from north China and Mongolia westward to eastern and northern Europe one discovers a gradual change from "Mongoloid" types to "Caucasoid" types. There is essentially no place where one can say that one has passed from "Mongoloid" groups to "Caucasoid" groups, except where movement has been recent (i.e., within the last few hundred years). Whether one considers straight "black" hair, the elliptical eye-fold, the so-called "Mongoloid spot," high cheek bones, or blood types, one discovers that the progression is gradual and that the individual traits in question have an irregular distribution. Thus straight "black" (brunette) hair is very common throughout western Europe while the elliptical eye-fold is not. What this probably means is that the latter is of much more recent appearance in human history and that, therefore, the cluster of traits associated with "Mongoloid-ness" did not all evolve at the same date and probably not in the same area.

What exists in actuality is a "genetic pool" including genes favoring the development of the elliptical eye-fold in east Asia, other "genetic pools" including genes favoring the development of straight brunette hair in all of Eurasia, parts of Africa, parts of Oceania, and in the Americas, many "genetic pools" including genes favoring the development of brown or light brown skin color throughout almost all of Asia, the Americas, much of Oceania, parts of Europe and Africa, and so on with other characteristics.

The same generalizations can be made about the relationships existing between "Negroids" and "Caucasoids." It is true, of course, that if we place a Swede and a Yoruba side by side we will note some marked differences in outward physical characteristics. But if we proceed northward gradually, from Nigeria to Sweden via the Sudan, the Sahara, North Africa, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark what will we find? That by and large each tribe or people blends in with the next so that the progression is an almost imperceptible, gradual one.

In short, there is no Negroid race distinct from the Caucasoid race or the Mongoloid race, et cetera. We must talk in terms of specific peoples, for example, the Yoruba, and an extremely complex system of genetic relationships beyond that level.

But then is there no meaning to the term "African Negroid?" Yes, there is meaning if we realize that what we are talking about is a large number of tribal peoples, from Senegal to Angola (largely along the coast) who possess certain similarities among themselves but who possess these similarities not because they are a separate race but because: (a) they have exchanged genes more often with each other than with outsiders, and (b) because their predominant type tends to possess a unique cluster of non-unique genes.

For instance those characteristics which are commonly thought to comprise "Negroid-ness," such as dark brown or near-black skin, short tightly-curled hair, flared nostrils, and prominent lips are in no sense "Negroid" traits, considered individually. Each one of these characteristics has a wide, irregular dispersal in areas beyond West Africa and, to a lesser degree, in southeast Asia-Oceania. (This is true, of course, only prior to modern migrations).

But not all of the individuals of West Africa possess the above characteristics. West African "Negroids" may be found with aquiline noses, lighter skin, et cetera, thus illustrating that we are speaking only of a "predominant type" or "predominant genetic tendency" and not of a "race."

We must also bear in mind that most of the people of South Africa, East Africa, and Central-North Africa do not exhibit the "Negroid" cluster of traits but rather are intermediate between the "Negroid" and Mediterranean-Middle Eastern "Caucasoid" types, except in southwest Africa where certain unique and "Mongoloid" type features are found.

* * *

The complexity of human relationships has been greatly increased by modern migrations. Isolation was probably a major element in the former development of unique genes, but now isolation is largely being replaced by constant movement of peoples and this increases the importance of a second element in genetic transformation, that of intermarriage. Many new physical types have undoubtedly developed in the past as a result of the coming together of previously isolated peoples, but that process is currently especially significant (as in Latin America, Hawaii, the South Pacific and elsewhere, where new hybrid "races" are now coming into existence).

The process of intermarriage is, of course, a very ancient phenomenon and suggests another sense in which "we are all Africans." From documentary evidence it is known that significant numbers of Africans of "Negroid" and partially "Negroid" character have often been present in North Africa, the Middle East and Mediterranean Europe. The Egyptian people have had a noticeable "Negroid" strain since very ancient times and black Africans have also been present in considerable numbers in Europe itself. Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire absorbed many people of "Negroid" ancestry and Roman troops of African origin were stationed as far north as the British Isles. Other Africans moved about much of southern Europe as part of invading Muslim armies at a later date. From these and other sources it would appear likely that small amounts of African ancestry are the common possession of large numbers of modern-day Europeans, albeit having little or no effect upon outward physical characteristics.

III. THE WEST'S AFRO-AMERICAN HERITAGE

Individuals of African descent have been prominent in the history of the western United States since the 1530's. To fully understand this important Afro-American heritage we must turn back in time to the history of Spain and the Spanish Empire in the New World.

The Spanish Racial Heritage

The Spaniards who reached the West Indies after 1492 were of exceedingly mixed ancestry. For at least a thousand years Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans had maintained trade routes from Africa to Spain which had resulted in the introduction of Africans into the latter area. Then the Muslim conquest of Spain in the 700's led to a further introduction of various kinds of Africans, not as slaves or settlers, but as conquerors and rulers. Still later, during the 1400's and 1500's, Portuguese traders and Spanish expeditions into Morocco brought in a new group of Africans, including blacks of tribal-West African origin and Muslims of all colors and shades.

Thus, the Spaniard of 1492 was of mixed racial background and had had extensive experience at ruling, being ruled by, and intermarrying with non-Europeans.

The African Reaches the New World

In the early years of the sixteenth century, long before any Englishmen had established colonies in the Americas, Africans and part-Africans began coming to the West Indies. Some were black Africans purchased by the Spaniards from Portuguese slave traders. Others were Christian blacks born in Spain itself. Still others were Moorish (Muslim) captives of various colors. Some of these Africans were free, but the majority were captives (i.e., slaves). These slaves could become free under a number of circumstances and were, in any case, provided with many rights by virtue of their status as human beings and subjects of the Spanish Crown (see Frank Tannenbaum's Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas for a discussion of the status of the slave in Spanish society).

Between 1520 and the 1560's, the number of black Africans in the West Indies increased very rapidly. By the latter date Puerto Rico had 15,000 Africans and less than 500 Spaniards; Haiti (Santo Domingo) had over 30,000 Negroes and about 2,000 Spaniards; and Cuba and the coasts of the mainland from Vera Cruz, Mexico to Cartagena, Colombia possessed a similar ratio of blacks to Europeans. In all of these areas race mixture occurred rapidly, with the surviving Indians being absorbed into the African and Spanish communities and with a new mulatto class developing as well.

Black Pioneers in Carolina, New Mexico, and Kansas

Virtually every Spanish expedition which reached the mainland of North America included numbers of Africans of Muslim or non-Muslim background; and in the 1520's blacks became permanent residents in Mexico and the Carolinas. The latter event occurred when, in 1525-1527, the Lucas Vásques de Ayllón expedition attempted to found a colony along the Carolina coast. Indian hostility and fever plagued the Spaniards while the Negro slaves rebelled and apparently some were left behind by the fleeing European survivors. It is therefore very likely that these blacks intermarried with the Carolina Indians and became the first permanent non-Indian residents of what is now the United States, eighty years before Jamestown.

Africans also became early "settlers" elsewhere in North America. Several other Spanish expeditions left Negroes behind who had run away or hidden with the Indians. Hundreds of Negroes accompanied the Vásques de Coronado expedition to New Mexico and Kansas in 1539-1542 and several blacks remained in New Mexico. A mulatto woman was left with Indians in Kansas in the 1590's by the Leyva de Bonilla-Umaña expedition. A number of blacks may well have settled in the South during the period from the 1520's to the 1560's as a result of escaping from expeditions led by de Soto, Narváez, and others. A black Muslim survivor of the Narváez party, Estebán, traveled with Cabeza de Vaca from Texas to Sonora and then became the first non-Indian known to have entered New Mexico. By 1565, when the Spaniards successfully founded St. Augustine, Florida (their first permanent settlement in the United States) blacks or descendents of blacks were already living with Indians in the Carolinas, Kansas, New Mexico, and probably scattered from Arizona to the Atlantic seaboard. From its very beginning also, St. Augustine included among its population a significant number of persons of African background.

Africans in Mexico

Afro-Americans were very important in the expansion of Spanish power northward in Mexico and in what is now the southwestern United States. Very few European Spaniards were available for service in this region and expansion therefore depended upon the extensive use of natives, Afro-Americans, and mixed bloods of all varieties. Negroes who had been converted to Christianity and who spoke Spanish were especially useful in helping to supervise mission Indians and in developing new towns devoted to mining.

Not all Africans were willing to submit passively to Spanish rule, however. There were many serious black and black-Indian rebellions in the West Indies and Panama. In 1537 the Negroes at the mines of Amatepeque in Mexico rebelled and elected a "king" of their own. Spanish troops crushed this rebellion but during the 1546-1600 period bands of Negro raiders troubled north central Mexico and cooperated with the Chichimec Indian tribes, who were also at war with the Spaniards. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though, most of the Afro-Americans in Mexico became free subjects of the Crown and were thoroughly integrated into the life of Spanish-speaking Mexico. Race mixture with Spaniards and Indians rapidly tended to dilute African ancestry.

Afro-Americans and other non-whites in the Spanish Empire suffered from many injustices, but nonetheless it was possible for such persons to rise to positions of importance, especially in frontier regions. Northern Mexico and the southwestern United States were just such frontier regions, and by the eighteenth century virtually every description of Spanish towns in Chihuahua, Durango, and Sonora has reference to the presence of mulattos. In addition, one sometimes finds record of adventurous Afro-American individuals, such as a mulatto who traveled from the Hopi villages to southern Arizona in 1720, the first non-Indian to pass through that region in more than a century.

New Mexico also had its share of part-African settlers in the seventeenth century. When civil war broke out in that province in 1640-1643, one faction was said to be composed of mestizos and mulattos. Subsequently, the same general faction was said to include "mestizos and samba higos, sons of Indian men and Negroes, and mulattos." In 1680, Pueblo Indian rebels in New Mexico were aided by "confident coyotes, mestizos, and mulattos" who were able to fight on horseback and with guns as well as any Spaniard. (A mestizo is an Indian-Spanish mixed-blood and a coyote is one-quarter Spanish, three quarters Indian).

Black Soldiers Fight Indians for Spain

By 1744 the Marquis de Altamira was noting that many troops along the northern frontier of the Spanish Empire, and especially in Texas, were not European Spaniards but were mixed-bloods or non-whites. In 1760 it was asserted by another Spaniard that most of the frontier soldiers were mulattos. These mulatto, mestizo (Indian-white) and Indian soldiers were often looked down upon by European Spaniards, but without their presence there would have been no way for Spain to have held northern Mexico or the Southwest.

Afro-Americans Settle in Baja California

When the Spanish Empire was expanded to include Baja California in the early 1700's a large number of Afro-Americans moved across the Gulf of California to that peninsula. A few part-Africans helped to lead the Indians there in a rebellion against the invasion, but most of the Afro-Americans became miners and soldiers and were loyal to the Crown. In 1790 the population of Baja California included 844 Spanish-speaking persons of whom 21.7% were mulattos (183), mostly concentrated at the mines of Santa Ana. The province also had 418 "castas" (persons of unclassified mixed ancestry) who constituted 49.4% of the population and 243 persons classified as "Español" (Spanish). Many of the "castas" and some of the Spaniards were probably part-African and therefore it is probable that at least one of every four Spanish-speaking Baja Californians was Afro-American.

The Settlement of California

In 1769 the Spanish Empire was expanded to include coastal California. Because Sonora, Sinaloa, and Baja California included so many part-Africans among their Spanish-speaking residents it is not at all surprising that from the very first Afro-Americans played an important role in the occupation of California. The Portolá expedition which founded San Diego and Monterey and which explored the coast numbered among its members at least one mulatto soldier, Juan Antonio Coronel (a soldado de cuera, or leather-jacket soldier, so called because these troops wore thick cowhide jackets and carried leather shields and lances. They were crack frontier troops, used to control and fight Indians). Several mulatto mule drivers were also with the expedition, including one who traveled alone through the strange land in February, 1770.

The Juan Bautista de Anza expedition of 1775, very important in the annals of California settlement, included seven mulatto soldiers out of a total of twenty-nine, or virtually one out of four. These and other early Afro-Americans in California blazed trails, fought Indians, suffered from near starvation, and finally settled down to help found towns and develop ranches. All of the early African pioneers in California were free men and women, serving either as soldiers or civilian settlers. Later, in the 1790's and early 1800's, some convicts were sent to California to serve out their sentences and of one such group in 1798 four (18%) were mulattos. Generally, convicts of this type had been convicted of petty crimes and soon became free men in California.

Overall, at least twenty percent of the Spanish-speaking settlers and soldiers in California in the 1790's were of African or part-African background. Since the Spaniards' position was at best precarious, with perhaps 200,000 Indians to pacify and control, the

Afro-American's contribution in terms of manpower can be seen as being absolutely essential.

Several Spanish settlements in California could not have been founded without Afro-Americans, since the latter constituted a large enough percentage of the settlers so that the settlement would not have been feasible without their presence. This was certainly the case in the founding of the now-great city of Los Angeles in 1781.

Los Angeles - An Afro-American Town

Of the first forty-six pobladores (settlers) of Los Angeles, twenty-six (56.5%) were African or part-African. Of the remainder, one was a Chinese from Manila, two were "Español," and the rest were Indian or part-Indian. The first alcalde of Los Angeles was Jose Vanegas, an Indian, while Francisco Reyes, a mulatto married to Maria del Carmen Dominguez (Spanish-Indian), served as alcalde during the 1790's.

The settlers of Los Angeles were completely mixed, racially speaking. Of the eleven original families, seven involved couples of different racial background while two couples were already mulattos. Only two families' members were both of the same race, and they were Indians. At least nine children were of mixed Indian-Spanish-Negro ancestry and they composed 19.5% of the population. Some of the mulattos may have also been Indian-Spanish-Negro mixed-bloods, since the children of a mulatto and an Indian were sometimes classified as mulatto in California.

Early Los Angeles was thoroughly integrated since house lots were distributed to the settlers without reference to racial characteristics.

Part-Africans Numerous Everywhere

Other communities in California were also racially mixed. Santa Barbara possessed a Spanish-speaking population which was more than half non-white or mixed-blood. Afro-Americans constituted at least 19.3% of Santa Barbareños in 1785. San Jose, now one of California's larger cities, possessed a population in 1790 which was at least 24.3% part-African and 59.5% non-Español. In the same year Afro-Americans constituted 18.5% of the settlers at Monterey, the Spanish capital of California. At San Francisco, eight years earlier, the military garrison was at least 18.1% Afro-American and more than half non-Español, but by 1790 persons designated as part-African comprised only 14.7% of the total population.

"Change of Race" Possible in the Spanish Empire

The percentages which have been given above must now be qualified somewhat. In California, as elsewhere in the Spanish Empire, it was quite easy for a person to experience a "change of race." Individuals could often purchase the status of "Español" but in California it was easy to "lighten one's color" by simply living in a community, acquiring local status, and perhaps, being on good terms with the census-taker. For example, between 1781 and 1790 eight of the original settlers of Los Angeles were reclassified from mulatto to Indian-Spanish, from Indian-Spanish to Spanish, and from Indian to Indian-Spanish. Thus all became officially lighter.

In addition, the children of an "Español" and an Indian-Spanish mixed-blood were called "Español" in California.

Thus, the percentages of non-white ancestry given above are all minimum figures and do not reflect the number of persons called Spanish who were actually of mixed background. (For a detailed analysis of race mixture in California see Jack D. Forbes, "Black Spaniards-the Spanish-Speaking Afro-Americans of the Southwest," in Phylon - The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, Fall, 1966, pp. 233-246).

Structure of California Society

European-born Spaniards dominated the "power-structure" of California before 1821, with American-born Spaniards and light-skinned mixed-bloods holding down the higher ranks within the army. Afro-Americans and other non-Spaniards were seldom able to rise above the level of cabo (corporal literally, but actually a more important rank) in the Spanish army, but they were able to advance in terms of civilian activities. The first rancher in the San Fernando Valley of southern California was Francisco Reyes, the mulatto mayor of Los Angeles from 1793 to 1795. The first rancher in the area east and southeast of Los Angeles was Manuel Nieto, a mulatto soldier who was the son of a Negro man and an "Español" woman. Nieto, whose wife was one-quarter Spanish and three-quarters Indian, acquired the use of some 167,000 acres of grazing land and fathered an important progeny. Juan José Dominguez, an Indian or mestizo, became the first rancher in the area south of Los Angeles, while José Bartolomé Tapia, the son of soldier Felipe Tapia (mulatto) and Juana Cardenas (Spanish-Indian), became the owner of the scenic Rancho Malibu along the ocean to the west of Los Angeles. Tapia served as majordomo of San Luis Obispo mission, a type of supervisional post frequently held by mulattos.

The Pico Family in Spanish California

The children of Santiago de la Cruz Pico (Spanish-Indian) and María de la Bastida (mulatto) achieved considerable success in the Spanish period (before 1821). Three of their sons, Miguel, Patricio, and Francisco Javier, served as soldiers in the Santa Barbara-Los Angeles region and in 1795 acquired the first ranch in what is now Ventura County. Miguel Pico also served as majordomo of Ventura mission (San Buenaventura) in 1819-1821. In 1860 Miguel's widow (Casilda Sinoba, of Spanish-Indian ancestry) died, leaving fifteen children, one hundred sixteen grandchildren and ninety-seven great-grandchildren, a total of 116 males and 112 females.

José María Pico, another son of Santiago, served as a soldier and in 1798 became cabo at San Luis Obispo Mission (in charge of the soldiers stationed there). From 1805 to 1818 he served as a sergeant (a high achievement for a mixed-blood) and may have been promoted to alférez (ensign) upon his retirement. José María had three sons (one of whom was Governor Pio Pico) and seven daughters.

José Dolores Pico, still another son of Santiago, married Gertrudis Amezquita (a mulatto) in 1791 while still a common soldier. After her death he transferred north to the Monterey garrison, married Isabel Cota ("Español," and of an important family) and by 1811 had become a sergeant. José Dolores led many campaigns against the Indians and acquired a ranch in the Salinas area a few years later. His widow died in 1869 leaving over one hundred part-African and part-Indian descendents.

These examples should serve to illustrate the extent to which persons of Afro-American background achieved success during the Spanish period in California (1769-1821). But all of the above is nothing when compared with their achievements during the period from 1821 to 1847, when the Southwest was a part of the Republic of Mexico.

The Mexican Period

Mexican independence brought new ideas of republicanism into California and also led to the dethronement of European Spaniards and to the breaking up of the large mission estates. Mixed-bloods found it easier to secure land grants, wealth, and higher military rank. The successes of Tiburcio Tapia and the Picos should serve to illustrate this process.

Tiburcia Tapia: Mixed-Blood Los Angeles Leader

Tiburcio Tapia, born at San Luis Obispo in 1789, was the son of

José Bartolomé Tapia. He was at least one-eighth Negro and one-eighth Indian. He commenced his military career as a soldier at Santa Barbara and by 1824 had risen to the position of head of the Purisima Mission escort. Thereafter he entered business as a merchant and still later acquired Rancho Cucamonga east of Los Angeles. Tapia served in the provincial legislature in 1827 and 1833, served as mayor of Los Angeles on three occasions, as auxiliary and assistant mayor twice, and as a judge. Obviously a powerful figure in Los Angeles, he was described as a man of "good sense, good character, and some wealth." One of the "finest" of Los Angeles' town houses belonged to Tapia, in the area now being restored as the Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical monument.

The daughters of the Tapia family married many prominent persons and helped to disperse African and Indian ancestry widely, although in ever more minute quantities.

The Pico Family Rises to the Top

The Picos probably achieved greater success and social prominence than any other Afro-American family in California. Two of the sons of José María Pico can serve as examples of this "upward mobility." Andrés Pico (born in 1810) rapidly acquired wealth (accumulating a long string of ranchos) and prominence in the San Diego region. He achieved the rank of captain, served as a governmental official in numerous capacities, was sent as an official delegate to Mexico City, and functioned as a military commander in several factional rebellions within California. His greatest fame came, however, in 1846 when he became third in command of Mexican forces resisting the United States and defeated General Stephen Watts Kearny at the Battle of San Pasqual. In January, 1847 he represented the Californians at the treaty discussions with John C. Frémont. Still later he served as a member of the California State Legislature.

Pio Pico, Mixed-Blood Governor

Andrés' elder brother, Pio Pico, rose rapidly after 1821 in a very similar manner. He acquired ranches, obtained governmental appointments, and early aspired to the governorship. In 1834 he married María Ignacía Alvarado, a very wise marriage in view of the power of the Alvarado family (a "white" family, one of whose scions, Juan Bautista de Alvarado, dominated California politics during the 1830's and early 1840's). As is appropriate with the "new rich," the "marriage feast" supplied by Pico for his wedding was "the most sumptuous and prolonged on record. . . . Festivities lasted eight days and were attended by all Los Angeles."

Finally, after service in numerous capacities, Pio Pico became governor in 1845, serving until United States forces overran the province in 1846.

The daughters of the Pico family tended to marry socially prominent, lighter-skinned Californians (as when Concepcion Pico married Domingo Carrillo and Estafana and Jacinta Pico, successively, married José Antonio Carrillo) or foreigners coming into the province. Several thousand persons, probably a majority with Anglo-Saxon names, are today descendents of Santiago and María Pico.

Race Mixture in California

The rise of mixed-bloods into the upper strata of Mexican California society was greatly facilitated by the fact that census records usually failed to designate any racial characteristics after 1800. This in turn was largely due to the fact that the bulk of the population was becoming so thoroughly mixed that classifications were almost meaningless, especially when so many persons had acquired fictitious designations.

In general, the lower half of the Spanish-speaking population, in economic terms, became thoroughly hybridized, with the Indian, African, and Spanish strains being blended together. As time went on, the Indian strain gradually assumed dominance because of frequent intermarriage with California Indians who had been Christianized and hispanicized in the missions.

The upper half of the Spanish-speaking population continued throughout the Mexican period to "marry light" in such a manner as to tone down any Indian or "Negroid" features. This process was facilitated by the willingness of the few European-born Spaniards to intermarry with light-skinned mixed-bloods because of a general shortage of Spanish-speaking women. The mixed-bloods were also "lightened" because several hundred foreign men (mostly British and Anglo-American) settled in the province and usually married girls from the wealthier families. By 1848 many of the more powerful families in California had "lightened" themselves by intermarriage with foreigners of European origin.

A number of dark-skinned families were able to rise into the upper strata of society during the Mexican period, but the tendency to "marry light" led ordinarily to their gradually becoming "white."

Later Negro Pioneers

The original Afro-Americans in California tended to disappear into the general population after 1800. They simply became Californians, or after 1821, Mexicans. But occasionally new individuals of African background entered the province and were identified as Negroes or mulattos for at least one generation.

One slave of unknown race was baptized at San Francisco in 1793 and was still recorded as a slave in 1798. In 1831 a Negro female slave from Peru was brought to California. She must have soon become free, because slavery was then illegal in the Republic of Mexico. From 1838 to 1844 a Mexican Afro-American, Ignacio Miramontes, served as cabo of the San Francisco military garrison.

Manuel Victoria: "The Black Governor"

The most important Spanish-speaking Negro to enter California in this period was Lt. Col. Manuel Victoria, the "black" governor. Victoria had served as comandante of Baja California and was "an honest and energetic officer." He attempted to restore order in California (1830-1831) and prevent a disruption in the mission system. These efforts aroused the ire of ambitious Californians and a rebellion took place in Los Angeles. Victoria exhibited his personal bravery by advancing on the rebels with only thirty soldiers. He won the battle, but lost the war because his wounds prevented him from following through on his victory. He left California at the end of 1831.

English-Speaking Negroes Arrive

The first English-speaking Negro to permanently settle in California was "Bob", who arrived on the Albatross in January, 1816, probably coming from Boston. Baptized in 1819 as Juan Cristobal, he apparently settled at Santa Barbara and became absorbed into the California population. At the same time the first Anglo-American white (Thomas Doak) also settled in the province.

In 1818 several Afro-Americans arrived in California as members of the Bouchard expedition, an Argentine effort to liberate the Americas from Spain. Norris or Fisher, a Negro, served at San Juan Capistrano as a cook but later left California. Mateo Jose Pascual, probably an Argentine Negro or mulatto, was captured by the Spanish near Santa Barbara but was later exchanged for Californians taken prisoner by the Argentinians. Still later, Pascual deserted the Argentine expedition and stayed in California. Francisco, a United States Negro, was captured by the Spanish and apparently also remained permanently in California, being absorbed into the general population.

Other Negroes undoubtedly arrived in California between 1821 and 1848, many of them escaping from U. S. vessels. For example, one

United States Negro ran away from the U. S. warship Cyane (1842). He took refuge with the Pomo Indians at Clear Lake, California, only to be murdered by Mexicans later in 1842 when the latter massacred a large number of Clear Lake Indians.

Allen B. Light: Otter-Hunter

A Negro runaway who became prominent was Allen B. Light, who probably deserted from the Pilgrim in 1835 and thereafter became a successful otter-hunter along the California coast. Light participated in several California rebellions in 1836-1838 and became a Mexican citizen. In 1839 he was appointed by Governor Alvarado to the post of "comisario general" in charge of the suppression of illegal otter hunting. Subsequently he settled in the San Diego region, still being a hunter in 1846-1848.

Black "Mountain Men"

Advancing toward the Far West during the period from 1800 to the 1840's were numbers of English and French-speaking fur trappers, hunters, and adventurers, sometimes called "mountain men." These rugged frontiersmen were often of racially mixed ancestry and a number were Afro-Americans. One such individual was York, the Negro who helped to keep the Lewis and Clark expedition's other members alive by obtaining food from Indians in return for his performing feats of strength. Two of the most famous black mountain men, Moses "Black" Harris and Edward Rose, got as far west as the Great Salt Lake and the Oregon Country but apparently never entered California. Other Afro-Americans did, however, reach Mexican Territory.

In 1826 the first overland party of Anglo-Americans to reach California (led by Jedidiah Smith), included Peter Ranne (or Ranee), a "man of color." The party traveled from the Great Salt Lake to Los Angeles. Leaving the rest of the party near Los Angeles, Smith and Ranne traveled to San Diego for an interview with Governor Echeandia and then the entire party journeyed north to the Great Central Valley of California. Some of the men, including Ranne, spent the winter of 1826-1827 in California while Smith returned to the Great Salt Lake. In the latter year Smith returned to California with a new group of men, half of whom were killed by Mohave Indians on the Colorado River. Among the dead was Polette Labross, a mulatto.

The balance of Smith's men rejoined the party left in California the previous winter and then the combined group trekked north to Oregon. There the Umpqua River Indians killed all but three of the trappers and among those killed was Peter Ranne.

James Beckwourth, the famous mulatto mountain man and scout, never became a permanent settler in California, but he was a frequent visitor. After spending many years as a fur trapper and as a leading man among the Crow Indians, Beckwourth from 1838 to 1840 joined with Peg-leg Smith and Ute and Shawnee Indians in stealing large herds of horses in southern California (an acceptable job for a mountain man). In 1840 he married a Mexican girl in New Mexico. From 1844 to 1846 Beckwourth was back in California, taking part in a rebellion in 1845. In 1846 he stole 1800 horses in the Los Angeles area and drove them to Colorado.

During 1847 and 1848 Beckwourth served as a scout for the U. S. Army, operating between California and Missouri. In 1847 he served as the mail carrier from Monterey to southern California, in true "pony express" style. Beckwourth was described an "an old trapper. . , a counterpart of Jim Bridger. . . ." He participated in the California gold rush and became one of the first settlers in Plumas County, California. But in 1857 he returned to the New Mexico-Colorado region and finally died with the Crow Indians in 1866.

Quadroon Civic Leader of Early San Francisco

One of the most successful Afro-Americans arriving late in the Mexican period was William Alexander Leidesdorff, whose mother was a St. Croix (Virgin Islands) mulatto. From 1841 to 1845 Leidesdorff operated between San Francisco and Hawaii, as a ship captain and trader. The wealth which he accumulated allowed him to purchase extensive property in still-undeveloped San Francisco. In 1844 he became a Mexican citizen and acquired a rancho grant in the Sacramento Valley. The following year he became the U. S. Vice-Consul, serving under Consul Thomas Larkin. Leidesdorff's business enterprises were both successful and important as pioneering efforts along new lines. In 1846 he built the City Hotel at Clay and Kearny Streets in San Francisco and in 1847 he launched the first steamship ever to sail on San Francisco Bay.

H. H. Bancroft, the historian of California, notes that Leidesdorff "was not only one of [San Francisco's] most prominent businessmen, but a member of the council, treasurer, and member of the school committee, taking an active part in local politics. . . . He was an intelligent man of fair education, speaking several languages; active, enterprising, and public-spirited." He died as a young man in 1848, one year before "descendents of Africans" were legally stigmatized in California.

Other Afro-Americans entered California with various overland parties coming from the United States. For example, one Negro came with the Joseph B. Chiles party in 1843, settling at Sonoma. Jacob Dodson, a free Negro from the United States, was a volunteer member of the exploring expeditions of John C. Frémont and entered California in 1843-1844 and again in 1845. During 1846-1847 Dodson participated in many campaigns against the Californians and appears to have been much relied upon by Fremont.

The California Melting Pot

In Mexico the descendents of Africans have been completely absorbed into the Mexican nationality, contributing about ten percent of the genetic heritage of that nation. The same process took place in California (and throughout the Mexican Southwest). The Californio of 1848 was a complex mixture of Indian, Spanish, and African with a little bit of Hawaiian, Chinese, Aleut-Eskimo, Russian, British, French, and Anglo-American thrown in for seasoning. Most of the Afro-Americans who entered California between 1816 and 1848 were also absorbed into this conglomerate, and thus no "Negro" community as such ever came into existence prior to the Gold Rush.

It can truly be said that the pre-1848 African heritage of California has become the common inheritance of all Californians. The tens of thousands of descendents of these early Afro-Americans are still living in California, primarily as members of the Mexican-American community or of the English-speaking "white" population.

Other Afro-Americans Move Westward

In the meantime, many other persons of African ancestry were moving westward, especially in connection with the expansion of United States slavery. As early as 1803 the population of upper Louisiana (mostly Missouri) included 1,500 English-speaking Negroes or fifteen percent of the population. Negro slaves were taken into Texas in large numbers from the 1820's on and kept in slavery by Anglo-Texans in spite of Mexican laws requiring that they be set free. Other slaves were taken to Kansas during the 1850's by white Southerners seeking to establish slavery in that state, to Indian Territory from the 1820's on by southern Indians, and, in smaller numbers, to New Mexico, Arizona, and elsewhere by southern slave-owners.

Free persons of color were also active in the Trans-Mississippi West, especially those with French or Spanish surnames and who had originated in Florida or Louisiana. In the area of east Texas, for example, free mulattos established themselves and were strong enough to carry on an armed struggle with some of their Anglo-Texan neighbors during the mid-1850's. Other Afro-Americans escaped from slavery by joining Indian tribes, and many of the southern Indians who came to Oklahoma were already part-African, including especially the Seminoles and Creeks. George Catlin, a visitor to the West during the 1830's, remarked that "the finest built and most powerful men I have ever yet seen, have been some of the . . . Negro and the North American Indian mixed, of equal blood. These instances are rare, to be sure, yet are occasionally to be found amongst the Seminoles and Cherokees, and also amongst the Comanchees [sic] even, and the Chaddoes [Caddos]."

The Westward Movement of Racism

The conquest of the Far West by the United States, commencing in 1846, had the unfortunate consequence of replacing Hispano-Mexican tolerance with Anglo-American racism, a racism directed against American Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals, as well as towards persons of noticeable African descent.

Africans had begun to arrive in Virginia in 1619 and, shortly thereafter, in the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. At first the Africans were regarded much the same as indentured servants of European origin. Blacks and whites were sold together, worked together, ran away together, and intermarried. By the latter part of the seventeenth century mulattos were numerous enough to be mentioned as a separate class in the statutes of Virginia and other colonies.

For several generations it was possible for Africans to obtain their freedom through their own efforts and, theoretically at least, free persons of color could exercise all of the rights of citizenship.

Between 1680 and 1750, however, the rights of persons of African ancestry were gradually diminished due, it is to be suspected, to the following circumstances: (1) one did not have to create good conditions in the colonies to obtain more black workers, since the latter came on an involuntary basis in any case; (2) it was to the mercenary advantage of the planter to reduce the rights of his servants and to insure that the latter's children would also be his servants (i.e., to pertetuate slavery); (3) the blacks were increasingly the object of fear as their numbers became greater and as they mixed with potentially dangerous Indians; and (4) in the Englishman's mind darker skin color came to be equivalent to a servile status, as most eastern Indians as well as Negroes were reduced to such positions and as the status of the remaining white indentured servants improved.

Most important, of course, is the fact that conquest is often profitable. It is rewarding to be a member of a ruling class with servants to exploit. The ego is inflated, "objects" for taking out one's sadistic tendencies are always at hand, and a life of luxury can be erected upon the basis of an inexpensive and immobile labor force. We must not overlook this central fact: that a large part of the wealth of the United States was either obtained as a result of conquering Indians and other groups or as a result of exploiting captive cheap labor. A system erected on such a basis, as long as it remains profitable and useful, will tend to be rigidly maintained and expanded as new generations demand their own opportunities for exploitation and as the lust for material wealth creates new appetites.

A system of human relationships based upon the enforced exploitation of other human beings bears a price, however, a price of guilt and a price of "control." One cannot take property from others without the use of extensive violence, nor can one maintain large numbers of people in perpetual captivity without the erection of a police state utilizing terror as the ultimate weapon. Not only are the slaves to be held in subjection by means of force, but the free persons of color must also be kept "in their place" because their presence serves to contradict one of the arguments for slavery invented by guilt-ridden masters: that the African was by nature inferior and suited only for a slave status. All Africans and Afro-Americans must either be slaves or, if technically free, be regarded as an inferior slave-like class.

Generally speaking, the erection of this racist system of relationships proceeded gradually and steadily and did not reach its peak of development until the 1850's. In short, the position of the Afro-American, whether slave or free, tended to decline as time went by, and this in spite of a brief improvement during the revolutionary era when some 5,000 Negroes and mulattos fought for colonial independence and equalitarian ideas were in vogue among the whites.

The gradual elimination of slavery in the North after independence did not mean that northern whites had abandoned racism. On the contrary, most seem to have favored not only ending slavery but also keeping free Negroes out. With the exception of New England (and particularly Massachusetts), where conditions did sometimes improve before the Civil War, the free person of color was everywhere subject to Jim Crow regulations, to increasing mob violence, and to an extremely hostile legislature. Negroes, for example, actually lost the right to vote in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut in the decades preceding the Civil War.

The famous French visitor, Alexis de Tocqueville, was amazed that "the prejudice of race appears to be stronger in the states that have abolished slavery than in those where it still exists; and nowhere is it so intolerant as in those states where servitude has never been known." C. Vann Woodward, in The Strange Career of Jim Crow (p. 19) has noted that "generally speaking, the farther west the Negro went in the free states the harsher he found the proscription and segregation." In brief, white racism had become so much a part of Anglo-American character after 1800 that, by and large, it did not demand a large number of non-whites to make it visible.

The Legal Disabilities of Negroes

During the late 1840's and 1850's, when United States power became dominant in the Far West, persons of visible African ancestry were under severe legal proscription. Generally speaking, they could not obtain any land under the preemption laws and they were specifically prohibited from acquiring land grants in the Oregon and New Mexico territories. Between 1856 and the end of the Civil War Negroes, as persons not qualifying for citizenship, could not obtain land anywhere in the federally-controlled territories of the West and by the terms of the Oregon Constitution of 1857 they could not own any class of real estate in that state.

Most new states, following the early lead of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, sought to prohibit the entry of free persons of color. Oregon whites voted eight to one to totally prohibit Negroes in 1857 while the California legislature almost adopted an exclusionist policy on several occasions in the 1850's. On the whole, these anti-immigration laws were ineffective and merely served to intimidate black people. But everywhere west of New York Negroes were prohibited from voting and holding public office, from testifying in court against whites, from serving on juries, and in Oregon, from maintaining lawsuits in the courts.

The Jim Crow system of segregation, essentially developed in the North, spread to the Far West during the 1850's. In the North, Negroes were segregated in the church, on the streetcar, on the train, in all forms of public accommodation, and generally, in education. The rough and tumble of western life, as well as the Hispano-Mexican-French traditions, sometimes ameliorated Jim Crow but usually only temporarily. The northern white was seldom able to adjust to a contrary view of race relations, and the southern white generally accepted Jim Crow wherever slavery did not exist to legally render the Negro helpless.

California Statehood and the Negro

As indicated earlier, a few English-speaking Negroes entered California during the early 1840's and their number was augmented during the 1848 Gold Rush. It would appear that they did not at first suffer from any serious discrimination since California was still largely Hispano-Mexican and the gold miners were tolerant of diversity during the first few months of the "rush." The mining districts were not overly crowded, gold was abundant, and even Indians were allowed to dig for mineral (either on their own or in the employ of others). During 1849, on the other hand, the Anglo-American became dominant in the gold region and the intense rivalry for riches led to antipathy towards all non-Anglos. Indians, Mexicans, and other groups began to be targets for assaults and a discriminatory society began to appear.

The California Constitutional Convention of 1849 marks the formal close of the era of Mexican racial tolerance. In spite of the partial objections of a few Mexican-American and Californianized Anglo-American delegates, the convention voted to disfranchise "Indians, Africans, and the descendents of Africans."

Ironically, at least one of the delegates, Antonio María Pico, was approximately one-eighth African and one-eighth Indian, but he apparently kept his silence anticipating perhaps that wealthy mixed-bloods would be able to exercise their political rights. In this he was correct, since Spanish-speaking mixed-bloods were able to hold political office for several decades, especially in southern California.

The Negro in the California Gold Rush

Several thousands of English-speaking Negroes (along with other Afro-Americans) participated in the West's greatest gold rush. At least one thousand new Negroes were in California by 1850 and more than four thousand by 1860, but many hundreds of others undoubtedly spent brief periods of time in the state or were unrecorded by the census. During the general gold rush period English-speaking Negroes constituted from one-half to one percent of the total non-Indian population, but the percentage was significantly higher in the San Francisco, Sacramento, and "Mother Lode" regions where most Negroes were concentrated.

Afro-Americans came to California during this era by all of the overland routes as well as by sea (via Panama and Nicaragua or around Cape Horn). Many (probably a majority) were free persons of color who came west to make their fortune in mining or business. Many were slaves brought by southern whites who hoped to use slave labor in the mines, while a few were slaves who were allowed to come to California on their own (with a chance to work for their freedom or merely to earn money for the owner back home). Some were runaways, seeking their freedom in the Far West.

The initial target of most Negroes was undoubtedly the gold mining region of the Sierra Nevada foothills, but during the 1850's a trend towards residence in cities or towns is evident. By 1860 one-third of the state's Negroes resided in San Francisco or Sacramento counties while those who continued to live in the mining regions were more and more becoming artisans, cooks, and barbers rather than miners.

We do not know the precise status of the black miner after 1848 because much of the firsthand testimony is contradictory. In most mining camps the miners refused to allow a man to hire (or control) another man's labor, and thus the use of Indian or Negro workers was ruled out (the use of hired workers or slaves would have given one miner an advantage over his competitors who could not afford hired help or who had no slaves). Southern slave-owners were, however, occasionally able to use slave-labor by either congregating together in certain camps or by making it appear that their slaves were individual miners working on their own claims.

Local and state law enforcement agencies, as such, rarely interfered with the practice of slavery in California, except in a few instances where a forced return of the slave to the South was involved.

That individual Negro miners were tolerated in some areas throughout the mining period is evident from early photographs and diaries. On the other hand, the general tendency was for Anglo-American miners to drive non-Anglos away from desirable locations and cases are recorded where Negro claims were seized by whites. Perhaps for this reason more and more Negroes appear to have given up mining in favor of occupations which they tended to dominate in this period, being cooks, waiters, and barbers, or serving as general laborers. On the other hand, there were a number of individual Negroes and some Negro-organized mining companies that did manage to remain in the gold region and make profitable discoveries.

In the mining camps and newly-constructed towns of northern California segregation was not always strictly enforced and there is some indication that color lines were often obscured in the saloons and hotels, and that interracial marriages occasionally took place (the 1850 Negro population was predominantly male, which probably encouraged liasons with women of other races). Nevertheless, enough discrimination was regularly encountered to encourage the people of color to begin organizing their own separate institutions, including churches, social organizations, and newspapers. Likewise, active anti-Negro legislation led to the establishment of separate "colored schools" and protective organizations. The establishment of a distinct "Negro" or "colored" community, with separate institutions, was however, not a unique California phenomenon but was rather an extension of northern attitudes and practices to the West Coast.

San Francisco and Sacramento were the earliest centers for organized activity by English-speaking blacks, with the years from 1852 to 1856 witnessing the establishment of Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal, and African Methodist Episcopal Zion churches, an educational-cultural organization (the San Francisco Athenaeum with its own library), a newspaper (The Mirror of the Times), and private schools. These latter were organized in both cities in 1854 because non-white children were barred from the public schools. Gradually these, and other Negro schools, were supported by the local white school boards and became segregated "colored" public schools.

The First Afro-American Revolution

During the 1850's and 1860's the Afro-American people of the eastern half of the United States, in alliance with white radicals (the "abolitionists"), staged the first revolution in race relations since the establishment of the United States. This Afro-American awakening and the accompanying development of a militant spirit took several forms. In the North it was a three-pronged movement designed to destroy "Jim Crow" in the "free" states, halt the expansion of slavery in the West, and liberate the slaves of the South. The southern Negroes did their part by fleeing to the North and to the swamps, by subverting the slave system internally, and, during the Civil War, by openly rebelling.

All too often writers dealing with the Civil War era have concentrated their attention upon the sectional rivalry between North and South. This political and economic struggle, while of great significance, must not obscure the simultaneous but not identical Afro-American liberation movement. The goals of the latter were often opposed by northern whites who were at the same time hostile towards the South for reasons not directly related to the question of Negro freedom and equality. Abraham Lincoln, for example, while opposed to the expansion of slavery and southern secession was neither an abolitionist nor a proponent of equality for Afro-Americans.

Without the vigorous participation of fugitive slaves, such as Frederick Douglass, as well as free Negroes, the white abolitionists would have probably been much less effective. Similarly, the Union Army, without its almost 190,000 Afro-American soldiers and tens of thousands of slave allies, might well have experienced much greater difficulty in subduing the rebel South.

The Negroes of the Far West, principally in California, were not numerous enough to influence national affairs although a few individuals seem to have worked with eastern anti-slavery groups. California Negroes were forced instead to concentrate upon defending their own precarious status during the 1850's and then seeking the local implementation of national reforms during the 1860's and 1870's.

Racism in California

The atmosphere of California during the 1850's was poisoned by the violent efforts of Anglo-Americans to wrest the wealth of the land from native Indians and Mexicans and to prevent "foreigners" and especially non-whites (Chinese, Negroes, and others) from possessing any share in the spoils. This decade witnessed the decline of the native Indian population from perhaps 75,000 (although only 32,000 "domesticated" natives were counted by census-takers in 1852) to probably less than 50,000 (with only 18,000 "domesticated" Indians being left in 1860). The native population further declined to 31,000 in 1870 and 16,000 in 1880.

The problems of California Negroes must, therefore, be viewed in perspective. Thousands of Indians were being murdered or driven into starvation and death by disease; Mexicans were being driven off their claims and, later, cheated of their lands; Chinese were being harassed in the mining regions and, later, murdered in race riots; and, finally, other "alien" groups were sometimes subject to discriminatory treatment of a somewhat milder sort.

California Afro-Americans were perhaps fortunate in not being very numerous before the Civil War, otherwise they might have also been a target for organized violence. As it was, however, they were discriminated against by a white population which tended to link all non-whites together as a class of inferior people which collectively threatened white power.

The government of California was, from its very beginning, strongly influenced by numerous politicians of southern sympathies. The constitution, as mentioned earlier, disfranchised persons of African and American Indian ancestry (and, by extension, all other non-whites) and the actions of the 1849-1850 legislature further established a racist policy. Although Governor Peter H. Burnett failed to obtain a law prohibiting the entry of free Negroes (and also partially failed in his plea for a war of extermination against the Indians), the legislature did limit membership in the militia to "free white males," prohibited non-white testimony in cases involving whites, and adopted vagrancy-peonage laws which served to maintain a form of Indian slavery until after the Civil War.

By 1851 the "Chivalry" Democrats, a pro-southern faction led by Senator William Gwin (an ex-Mississipian) gained a predominant position in California politics, a position which they were to hold with but a few exceptions until 1860-1862. During their period of near-hegemony, the "Chivs" were able to adopt a number of racist laws including one which made it possible for Negroes who had entered California before 1850 to be seized by anyone who claimed them as ex-slaves, without the Negro having any right to testify on his own behalf. The "Chivs" also attempted to divide California (with the southern half open to slavery), tried to set up a "coolie" labor system using Oriental labor, and succeeded in blocking U. S. Senate confirmation of the various treaties negotiated with California Indian tribes (as a result of which the Indians lost their old land and failed to get anything in return).

The Fight to Testify

The California Negro population was not slow to respond to attacks upon its own people. In 1852 the San Francisco Negro community organized the Franchise League and began compaigning for the right to testify in court cases involving whites. This latter issue was brought to the fore by the murder of Gordon Chase, a San Francisco black barber, by a white man. The testimony of Robert Cowles, a witness, was thrown out by the court because an examination by medical doctors concluded that Cowles' hair revealed that he was one-sixteenth African. San Francisco Negroes drew up a petition which was presented to the legislature in March, 1852 by a white assemblyman from Placer County. The legislators refused to receive the petition, however.

In 1855 the first "Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of California" was convened in Sacramento with forty-nine delegates from ten counties. The delegates concentrated their attention upon the "right to testify" issue and claimed that since California Negroes had collectively accumulated over $2 million in wealth they needed the equal protection of the law. The Colored Citizens' petitions to the legislature had no effect upon the lawmakers, as before, and a "Second Annual Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of Californa" was called in 1856. Sixty-one delegates from seventeen counties again focused their major attention upon the testimony issue, but with little concrete success. The convention did, however, mobilize support for the newly-founded colored newspaper, Mirror of the Times, and passed resolutions relative to education and legal equality.

California's dominance by racist politicians continued to thwart any reforms and the 1857 convention was convened in an atmosphere of discouragement. The fifty-five delegates passed resolutions against the Dred Scott decision and in favor of continuing the testimony fight, and expressed continued interest in education. Talk about leaving the United States to go to Canada or Mexico was common and, in fact, many black people did go to the British Columbia gold fields during this period.

The Negro effort to overturn anti-testimony legislation was thwarted in great measure by the fact that such laws were aimed principally at the much more numerous Chinese and Indian populations. In 1856, in People v. Hall, the statutes were said to apply to all non-Caucasians since if they did not "the European white man who comes here would not be shielded from the testimony of the degraded and demoralized caste [the Chinese], while the Negro, fresh from the coast of Africa, the Indian of Patagonia, the Kanaka [native Hawaiian], South Sea Islander, or New Hollander, would be admitted . . . to testify against white citizens. . . . The evident intention of the Act was to throw around the citizen a protection for life and property, which could only be secured by removing him above the corrupting influence of degraded castes. . . . The same rule which would admit them to testify would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship, and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls. This is not a speculation which exists in the excited and over-heated imagination of the patriot and statesman, but it is an actual and present danger."

Black efforts at obtaining even minimal legal redress had to await the impact of southern secession and the Civil War. Between 1860 and 1862 the "Chiv" Democrats were destroyed politically and the Republican Party assumed control over California politics. In 1863 Negroes obtained the right to testify in cases where whites were defendents and, finally, in 1873 all racial bars to black testimony were eliminated. In 1870 the first Negro jury was convened in Sacramento, for a case involving a Negro and a Chinese.

The Right to Vote

Black Californians were concerned about the right to vote early in the 1850's, as is evidenced by the formation of the Franchise League in 1852. On the other hand, the leaders of the Colored Citizen's Convention movement did not take up the suffrage issue until 1864, doubtless because it was seen as a hopeless struggle until that date. Anti-Negro sentiment was extremely strong even during and after the Civil War, as is to be seen in the fact that Democrats won an election in San Francisco in 1867 largely on the issue of preventing Negroes and Orientals from voting.

The Los Angeles Daily News of January 2, 1869 gave voice to some of the anti-Negro sentiment still strong in California in discussing the proposed participation of black Americans in the Fourth of July parade: "With a persistency for which radicalism is remarkable, that party [the Republicans] insists every year upon insulting the white citizens of the city by claiming the right of the Negroes to a position in the procession. . . . A large majority of Californians are determined to keep their state and society free from the taint of Mongrelism both socially and politically, and all efforts of the radicals to force Negroes or Chinese into public processions will be promptly met and frowned down by the people. . . . Californians have too much respect for the white race, and her sons are possessed of too much independent manhood to submit to any such outrage and insult. . . . Neither [President Grant] nor his party can induce the white men of California to follow their disgusting example, and degrade their manhood and decency by permitting Negroes to join them in public processions, and thus acknowledge their claims to social equality."

The Fifteenth Amendment, granting Negroes the right to vote, was not ratified by California, but nonetheless it became the law after national adoption. Blacks were gradually able to acquire the vote during the 1870's, overcoming many problems including opposition to registration.

Not all sections of California greeted the Fifteenth Amendment with hostility. The Ventura Fourth of July parade in 1871 included an "illustration" of the amendment concocted by a white named Harrington. "Language can convey no conception of the ludicrousness of the thing. . . . A Mexican cart . . . drawn by a pair of long legged, long horned Mexican oxen, with yoke attached to the horns by leathern thongs, carried the genius who originated the emblem and a full blown African, a mulatto, and two or three Indians. [Harrington] commanded, the 'genmen of color' held the reins, and the aborigines fiddled and beat a base and tenor drum; and over them all floated the flag of freedom. The rounds of good natured cheer that greeted this ab-original turn-out, told of a progress in liberal sentiment a thousand fold more wonderful than the progress made in the mechanic arts, as displayed by a comparison of the ante-diluvian cart and the finest coach in the procession." A bit patronizing, to say the least, but at least not overtly hostile!

Elimination of Slavery

Many blacks were brought to California as slaves and were held in slavery by their owners in spite of the state constitution. The legislature did not choose to adopt any rules governing the freeing of slaves and thus each case was left up to the individual court. Additionally, a number of ex-slaves were forced back into a status of slavery thanks, in part, to the fugitive slave law described earlier.

Many Negroes and friendly whites were able to liberate individual slaves but it was not until 1857 that general interest was aroused. In that year the State Supreme Court (under pro-southern control) ruled that an ex-slave, Archy Lee, was really free but because it was the first case of its kind to reach the Supreme Court, the white claimant could return Lee to slavery. This decision, "giving the law to the north and the Negro to the south," was denounced by many and Lee was liberated in San Francisco, partly through the efforts of Mary Pleasants, a prominent black woman in that city. The Executive Committee of the Colored Citizen's Convention also raised funds for the Lee case.

It is alleged that some Negroes were maintained in a status of slavery during the 1860's and peonage laws served to enslave Indians until well after the dates of the Emancipation Proclamation and Thirteenth Amendment.

Education

As stated previously, black Californians established their own schools in San Francisco and Sacramento in 1854 and shortly thereafter these schools became segregated public schools. Thereafter, most schooling for Negroes, Orientals, and Indians, when available, was segregated, but not universally. Segregation was sometimes carried to extremes, as when the Watsonville school board hired a white teacher to teach the children of its two colored families rather than integrate.

In 1859 the state superintendent of public instruction denounced what little integration existed and said that "If this attempt to force Africans, Chinese, and Diggers [Indians] into our white schools is persisted in, it must result in the ruin of our schools." The 1860 legislature responded by cutting off all state funds from integrated schools and the 1870 legislature formally established a statewide segregated school system.

Between 1871 and 1875 Negroes waged a successful campaign to eliminate the state segregation policy, winning an initial success when the legislature in 1874 decided that non-white children could go to the white school if no colored school existed. Negro parents boycotted segregated schools, won court tests, and petitioned, and after 1875 the dual school system disappeared as a formal element in California education.

Afro-Americans Elsewhere in the West

Americans of African ancestry tended to concentrate largely in California, doubtless because the more urbanized environment of that state afforded economic opportunities not available elsewhere. Negroes were largely denied the possibility of becoming agricultural "pioneers" by adverse legislation and prejudice, and relatively plentiful Indian and Mexican labor inhibited their settlement in much of the Southwest. Nevertheless, opportunities were available in the mining industry and in transportation and these two fields of enterprise helped to establish small black colonies in virtually every western region.

Negroes were among the first prospectors in the Colorado mines, and they continued to be active in mining there for several decades, a few being able to make significant discoveries. Others were active in mining in Nevada, Utah, British Columbia, South Dakota and elsewhere, although always working under more or less severe handicaps. As in California, these Negroes gradually abandoned mining in favor of urban-style occupations or employment in the transportation industry.

Varying Styles of Life in the West

Generally speaking, wherever blacks were forced to associate with a predominantly Anglo-American community they were subjected to the general pattern of Jim Crow relationships current in the northern United States. In a few regions, where Hispano-Mexican or Indian attitudes persisted, the style of life was radically altered by greater inter-ethnic tolerance. Two examples may serve to illustrate this variation. In 1857 Frederick Law Olmsted found that the Mexican-Americans of south Texas "consort freely with the Negroes, making no distinction from pride of race. A few, of old Spanish blood, have purchased Negro servants, but most of them regard slavery with abhorrence. . . . [The Mexicans] are regarded by [Anglo] slaveholders with great contempt and suspicion for their intimacy with slaves and their competition with plantation labor." Another variation, illustrating the fairly numerous Indian-Negro contacts, is described for Ventura, California, in ca. 1865: "there was only one colored man in the entire section now known as Ventura County. This was a very black man living at [San Buenaventura Mission] . . . called 'Nigger Ben'. His right name was Benjamin Elmo. He was a runaway in the fifties from Arkansas. He had an Indian wife and spoke Spanish like a native. He was the head and front of all the Indian population of the district, with a control of three languages and considerable executive ability."

The Buffalo Soldiers

Although largely denied access to the riches of the West, black Americans were given an opportunity to help the white man conquer the native Indians of the region. Negro troops had performed exceedingly well during the Civil War (some fighting in regions west of the Mississippi) and it was, therefore, logical to recruit Afro-Americans to do some of the white man's fighting in the Plains and Southwest.

In 1866 legislation was adopted which allowed Negroes to serve in the regular "peacetime" army in up to six regiments of segregated troops. By 1867 several units were operational and were assigned to garrison duty in Oklahoma and Kansas. Thereafter, and until 1891, they fought with great courage and ultimate success against Indians in New Mexico, Arizona, west Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado and in the Dakotas, earning the nickname "Buffalo Soldiers" bestowed upon them by their native enemies.

More than 12,000 black Americans served in the Indian wars of the West, constituting one-fifth of the cavalry assigned to that struggle. Their heroism and fortitude never received just recognition at the time, nor, of course, has Hollywood chosen to correctly portray the racial character of the "Indian-fighting" army in the multitude of "western" motion pictures produced in recent decades. Does the average American have any idea that most of the troops actively fighting against the Apaches over many years were black?

The Buffalo Soldiers also produced several Medal of Honor winners, captured bandits along the Mexican border, preserved order in frontier towns, and helped to temporarily restrain white "boomers" from invading Indian lands in Oklahoma. The historian of the Negro troopers, William H. Leckie, has stated: "The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry were first-rate regiments and major forces in promoting peace and advancing civilization along America's last continental frontier. The thriving cities and towns, the fertile fields, and the natural beauty of that once wild land are monuments enough for any buffalo soldier" (The Buffalo Soldiers, p. 260). But are they? Unfortunately, numerous moral questions are raised by so easily summarizing the role of black American soldiers who helped whites take away the property and freedom of native Indians so that that same white society could erect thriving white cities, grow fertile white fields, and leave no real monuments to the memory of brave, but denigrated-in-their-lifetime, soldiers.

The Career of Henry O. Flipper

One of the most outstanding Afro-Americans active in the West after the Civil War was Henry O. Flipper, who, in 1877, became the first Negro graduate from the United States Military Academy. Commissioned a second lieutenant, Flipper served in Oklahoma and with the Tenth Cavalry of "Buffalo Soldiers" in the campaigns against the Apaches. In 1882 he was court-martialed and dismissed from the army at Fort Davis, Texas, apparently as a result of the racial prejudice of a senior officer.

As a civilian Flipper devoted thirty-seven years to service in the Southwest and Mexico as a civil and mining engineer. He was also a translator of Spanish documents and a student of Southwestern history and folklore, publishing articles in Old Santa Fe magazine and the El Paso, Texas newspapers, and a booklet entitled, Did a Negro Discover Arizona and New Mexico? (on Estebán). Between 1919 and 1921 Flipper served as an interpreter and translator for a U. S. Senate subcommittee and then as an assistant to Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall. Finally he retired from active life, but not before spending almost a decade working in Latin America.

Flipper's record is in some respects unique but there were many other Negroes who compiled outstanding records in the West during the same general period, including many uneducated men who served as cowboys, wagon-drivers, and in other colorful roles.

Population Growth, 1850-1940

The growth of the West's Afro-American population was slow for almost a century and generally merely served to maintain a stable relationship to the total population. Between 1850 and 1860 California's Negroes increased from about 1,000 to over 4,000, in both cases constituting about one percent of the total non-Indian population. At the latter date ninety percent of United States Negroes were still residing in the South, with ten percent in the North and only a fraction of one percent in the West.

Between 1860 and 1910 the Negro population of the Rocky Mountain region increased from 235 to 21,467 (from 46 to 11,453 in Colorado) while that of Washington State went from 30 to 6,058 and that of Oregon from 128 to 1,492. California possessed 21,645 Negroes in 1910 or about two-fifths of the West's total of 50,662. In both 1860 and 1910 Negroes constituted less than one percent of the West's total population, a clear indication that the riches of the region were for one reason or another not being made available to Afro-Americans. It is interesting to note that while western lands and jobs were being made available to new European immigrants (many western states had extremely high concentrations of foreign-born persons), landless Negroes remained almost immobile in the South, where they did not, of course, receive their "forty acres and a mule."

Beginning in the decade of 1910-1920 Negroes began to desert the South, due in part to southern agricultural failures and the northern demand for war labor and also, perhaps, to the increasing hopelessness of the Negroes' socio-economic position in the ex-slave states. But this wave of migration did not greatly affect the West, which still remained a mecca primarily for whites.

Negro population increased very slowly in many areas of the West prior to 1940. Black percentages remained stable in most of the Rocky Mountain-Great Basin states (e.g., Colorado increased only from 11,453 to 12,176) and an actual decline occurred in Montana and Wyoming. Oregon's Negroes increased only from 1,492 in 1910 to 2,565 in 1940 while Washington increased from 6,058 to 7,424. On the other hand, Arizona increased from 2,009 to 14,993, and California from 21,645 to 124,306.

The pattern of Negro westward migration was obviously shifting between 1910 and 1940 as opposed to 1860-1910. The earlier half-century had seen the Colorado and Washington areas as major targets, supplementing California. The post-World War I era, on the other hand, saw California as overwhelmingly attractive (as in the Gold Rush era), with Arizona as a second target. The other western states would appear to have barely held their 1910 Negro population, considering natural increase.

In 1940 the Far West's black population stood at 170,706 of whom 124,306 were in California and the greater proportion of the balance in Arizona and Colorado. In California Afro-Americans constituted less than two percent of the population, a slight increase from 1910. Slightly more than half of black Californians were concentrated in Los Angeles, a marked change from earlier periods.

Delilah Beasley Chronicles Black Progress

In 1919 a Negro woman sought to tell the full story of the progress made by the black community up to that date. Delilah Beasley succeeded well and her The Negro Trail Blazers of California illustrates in an impressive way the manner in which California Negroes had overcome hurdles and had achieved prominence in many areas of California life. Her work focuses primarily upon middle class Negroes who had acquired some degree of economic or social success, the latter largely within the context of a separate Negro society.

Making The Law A Reality

The period after 1875 was in many respects strikingly like that which has ensued more recently, after 1965. In both cases, periods of active progress in furthering minority rights at the legislative level were followed by the grim and frustrating task of reforming white society at the behavioral and attitudinal level. The Colored Citizen's Convention, California's major Negro organization until the World War I era, and individual black people, found that the legal gains made in the 1863-1875 period were not enough to initiate a period of racial justice and tolerance. On the contrary, California Afro-Americans were forced to make their way as a separate people, largely segregated in fact if not in law.

California "custom" until after World War II required that Negro children, wherever numerous, be assigned to separate schools, that Negro teachers teach in Negro schools, that Negro swimmers not swim with whites, that Negro customers eat in their own restaurants, and that many kinds of occupations, such as that of streetcar operator, be reserved solely for whites. In short, California possessed a society every bit as Jim Crow as any state outside of the Deep South, but a Jim Crow society difficult to change because its forms of discrimination stemmed largely from attitude rather than law.

Within the limitations imposed by such a discriminatory social order black Californians erected their own society (as Afro-Americans did everywhere) with their own churches, clubs, fraternal organizations, newspapers, "cultural" societies, and Negro-oriented businesses. They developed their own leadership (within the Colored Convention organization and then later in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other more transitory groups), acquired their own attorneys, formed their own veteran's groups, and developed a full-blown "black bourgeosie" culture with "debutante balls" and all of the other trimmings of middle class white society.

Segregation, on the other hand, was never complete in the Far West. A handful of Negro teachers, beginning in the late 1850's, had non-Negro pupils in their classrooms and in 1919 Frederick Madison Roberts became the first English-speaking Negro to serve in the California legislature. In 1914 Mrs. Bessie B. Burke became Los Angeles' first Negro teacher and four years later she was named principal of Holmes Avenue School.

In the South, with formally segregated schools, the teaching profession opened up major opportunities for college-educated Negroes to acquire middle-class status. In California, on the other hand, teaching opportunities for Afro-Americans were severely proscribed until the World War II period. In 1940 there were only 138 Negro teachers in the state (.27% of all teachers), constituting only one-seventh of the proportion of Negroes in the general population. These teachers were concentrated in only a very few school districts and within predominantly Negro schools.

The Black Westward Movement

The real migration of black Americans to the West commenced only after 1940 and already it has assumed the character of a major mass movement. The following figures, showing net increase of Negro population in the far western states, illustrates this process.

1910 - 1920: 28,400
1920 - 1930: 36,100
1930 - 1940: 49,000
1940 - 1950: 304,300
1950 - 1960: 385,000
1960 - 1964: 594,312 (estimate)

Quite obviously, the westward migration increased during the World War II years and then continued as a steady movement until the early 1960's when its momentum greatly accelerated. Between 1960 and 1964 the white population of the West (including Mexican-Americans as "whites with Spanish surnames") increased by only ten percent while the black population grew by an astonishing fifty-six percent.

This movement is part of a continued Negro exodus from the South in which the larger numbers of migrants are still going northward, but if present trends continue the westward migration will soon eclipse the northward movement numerically.

Today black westerners number in excess of 1,680,000 (the 1964 estimate), constituting 8.1 percent of the total far western population (as compared with about one percent in 1860 and less than 1.5 percent in 1940). In raw totals, California continues to be the target for most westward-moving Negroes (with 883,861 of the Far West's

1,085,688 Negroes in 1960). On the other hand all western states have experienced proportionally sharp increases with the exceptions of Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho. As of 1960 Arizona, Alaska, California, and Nevada all had black populations constituting at least three percent of their totals, while most other states (with the exception of those mentioned previously) had passed the two percent mark.

California's Negro population constituted about 1.8 percent of the state's total in 1940 and 5.6 percent in 1960. In 1966 8.05 percent of the public school pupils in grades K - 12 were classified as Negroes by school personnel participating in an ethnic census.

The Los Angeles metropolitan area continues to be a central focus of black in-migration, containing more than half of California's Negro population, while five urbanized counties (Los Angeles, Alameda, San Francisco, San Diego, and Contra Costa) have more than three-quarters of the total. More than sixty percent of California's Negroes reside in southern California and more than ninety percent live in urban areas, as is the case throughout the West as a whole.

Contemporary Issues

Since 1940 almost 1,300,000 black Americans have sought new homes in the cities of the Far West, the majority in California. Fleeing from poverty and second-class citizenship elsewhere, these newcomers apparently hope to find jobs, decent housing, and a better life along the Pacific Slopes, as did other migrants before them. Unfortunately, the West was not, and is not, prepared to meet the expectations of most of these people.

White southerners and southwesterners migrating to the Far West in the same general period as black Americans, and with very similar backgrounds in terms of education, degree of urban sophistication, et cetera, have had the significant advantage of being visually indistinguishable from other whites. Thus in southern California poor southern whites have been able to settle in suburban areas circling the central city, have mingled with lower-middle-class and even middle-class whites from other backgrounds, and have apparently been able to advance economically with relatively steady jobs in factories, trucking, warehousing, and the like. Black migrants, on the other hand, are forced to congregate in overcrowded central city residential areas where jobs are largely absent (and, in any case, difficult to obtain for black people) and where schools are de facto segregated.

The funneling of large numbers of Negroes into crowded urban ghettoes must ultimately result in the expansion of the ghetto's borders and that has certainly been the case in western urban areas. White "refugees" have been sent fleeing to often hastily-built suburbs while neighborhood after neighborhood in the central city has become increasingly black. This in turn has affected the schools, city services, the police, industry (which is moving to the suburbs also), downtown business areas, and, of course, the countryside itself which has been often transformed from fertile garden or scenic hills into a series of vast, poorly planned, virtually all-white communities.

The effect, then, of being unprepared for the heavy in-migration of black Americans has been manifold and extends far beyond the problems of the black community itself. The cost of segregation and discrimination, in other words, is borne by the total population not only in terms of expenses directly connected with serving the Afro-American community but also in terms of expenses created by that proportion of urban "sprawl" traceable to the flight of whites from racially-changing neighborhoods.

The more than one million Negroes who have sought homes and opportunity in the Far West since 1940 have been forced to wage battles on many fronts, with the old fight against Jim Crow practices occupying the center of the stage for much of the period under discussion. Civil rights organizations, supported by mass black action in many cases, have been able to eliminate segregated swimming pools, theatres, restaurants, hotels, motels, and the like. Negroes are now free, generally speaking, to utilize any public or privately-owned facility open to the public without restriction if they can afford it. This struggle to knock down the more visible elements in the West's Jim Crow system was, of course, immeasurably aided by national reforms along the same lines, but many local battles were won in the West by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and allied groups before national changes were effected.

The elimination of the more obvious forms of discrimination has, however, brought to the surface other, more fundamental problems. Basic to the latter is the fact that although black southerners have worked for more than three centuries to create wealth for the South (and the nation), the vast majority were not legally able to accumulate any capital from the first two centuries of labor and have been practically prevented from retaining any significant share of the wealth produced during the past century. In short, southern Negroes migrate to the North and West with a collective work experience record in the United States of three hundred years but with little or no capital accumulation.

This is to say not only that black Americans are, by and large, "poor," but also, and perhaps more significantly in psychological terms, that they are poor because they have been the victims of long-term exploitation. Frustrations and disappointments which lead to violence in the urban ghetto are, in part at least, the end-result of three centuries of thwarted potentialities.

The problem of how to obtain a fair share of America's wealth or at least enough to provide a minimal standard of living is, then, one of the issues becoming more and more important in recent years. Jobs and other economic opportunities are among the key issues today, rather than the desegregation of parks, et cetera. In 1959, for example, almost sixty percent of employed western Negroes received less than three thousand dollars while only forty-seven percent of "whites" (including Mexican-Americans) received comparable incomes. Almost one-third of white westerners received incomes of over five thousand dollars while only fifteen percent of Negroes were so rewarded. At the top income levels, 5.7 percent of whites earned ten thousand dollars or more while only .6 percent of Negroes were in that category.

Perhaps of greater significance are the facts that the income of a Negro wage earner ordinarily has to support a larger family, that consumer expenses are sometimes higher in a ghetto, that interest paid for credit-buying may eat up a greater proportion of income, and, finally, that unemployment rates are extremely high in ghetto areas. It is said, for example, that if all non-employed males are counted, including those who have never had a job, the percentage of unemployed may range from twenty percent to forty percent in the poorest neighborhoods.

Closely related to the economic issues are those concerned with education. The new Negro migration of the 1940's created great changes in the racial population of many inner-city schools. Old attendance boundaries which had served to confine most Negro pupils in segregated schools were initially expanded in some districts in order to force black newcomers into the same set of schools. By the end of World War II, however, excessive school populations and the rapid expansion of black neighborhoods forced school boards to open up new schools to Negroes and then these, in succession, tended to become predominantly black. Thus school after school has passed from white to mixed to black as the ghetto has expanded. On the other hand, attendance boundaries are still used successfully in some areas as long-term separators of white from black schools where those boundaries can be made to correspond with some stable barrier to Negro expansion, such as an industrial-railroad belt or an abrupt change from inexpensive to expensive housing.

But whether because of neighborhood racial make-up or ethnically-determined attendance boundaries, most California Negro pupils have been, and still are, attending predominantly Negro schools (for recent data, see the California State Department of Education's Racial and Ethnic Survey, Part One: Distribution of Pupils, Fall 1966). Few informed persons would contest the assertion that these predominantly Negro schools have over the years ordinarily been inferior in quality to white schools and, further, that such schools have seldom developed close two-way relationships with the local black community. A serious problem has also existed in terms of making suitable educational opportunities available for adults and older youth.

As indicated previously, Negro teachers were traditionally assigned to Negro schools and most California districts (83.8 percent in 1959) possessed no Afro-American certified personnel whatsoever. Negro teachers constituted .27 percent of the latter state's total in 1940, 1.24 percent in 1950, and 2.5 percent in 1960. The situation is, therefore, improving but the number of Negro teachers needs to be more than doubled to keep pace with the percentage of Afro-Americans in the state in 1960. Administrative personnel of African ancestry appear to still be quite rare and are largely confined to a few major urban centers.

The problems of Negro teachers have been similar to those faced by all types of black professional and white-collar personnel, although in recent years increasing opportunities are opening up for all college-trained Afro-Americans, especially those with degrees from western or northern universities. Prejudice and discrimination have not disappeared completely, especially in rural and suburban areas, but the trend would appear to be markedly favorable. On the other hand, the "draining off" of college-educated Negroes into the "white world" is sometimes criticized as weakening the development of a leadership group within the black "central city," as will be discussed subsequently.

Obtaining a college education is, at best, extremely difficult for most Afro-American youth beset by poverty, cultural difference, and poor secondary education. No western college is specifically Negro-oriented and most public, non-tuition, schools are located in rural or suburban areas at some distance from urban black population centers. Providing increased numbers of scholarships for black students (and scholarships which are adequate) may be of some value, but the problem of making post-secondary education relevant to the culture and specific needs of the Afro-American community may not be overcome by financial aid alone. Several junior colleges have exhibited an ability to serve the Negro community (and other low-income groups) well and it may be that other two-year institutions should develop a program consciously oriented towards the Afro-American population. Four-year colleges have shown less adaptability and, in California at least, currently projected state college and university campuses are being planned for suburban, predominantly or wholly white, areas.

The existence of predominantly Negro neighborhoods attests to the fact that housing has been and is a major issue for California Negroes. The West's real estate industry has widely adopted the philosophy of discouraging the development of integrated neighborhoods for reasons not fully explainable in terms of pressure from white residents. In several urban areas unethical white real estate brokers have been instrumental in guaranteeing a solid expansion of the ghetto by "block-busting" and openly intimidating whites who might otherwise have remained in the neighborhood. Very often, keeping the ghetto area as an overcrowded, block by block expanding unit serves to maintain inflated rents and home sale prices. Thus, speculators have in some instances been able to purchase homes in a "tipping" border area at panic-inspired low prices and then have immediately resold the houses to "captive" black customers at high ghetto figures.

Fair housing laws, active campaigning by civil rights groups, and improved income patterns for middle class Negroes have, however, led to "token" integration in many metropolitan areas of the West, especially within the last few years. This style of integration does not affect the larger proportion of the black population, though, because their low incomes prevent movement into middle-class suburbia and less expensive white neighborhoods generally remain completely segregated (except at the edge of the ghetto where integration is often merely a transitory phenomenon).

Housing conditions for most black Americans have tended to deteriorate as ghetto population has climbed, since the expansion of the ghetto has seldom kept pace with in-migration. Furthermore, many western cities have developed the practice of channeling freeways and rapid transit lines through black neighborhoods while "urban renewal" type agencies have increasingly come to be thought of as "black removal" organizations. The poor who are displaced by these increasingly numerous projects seldom are provided with replacement housing. In addition, bureaucratically controlled public housing developments do not seem to have satisfied either the domiciliary or psychological needs of the urban poor.

Jobs, education, and housing have, in summary, become major issues in recent years along with many other interrelated problems such as police relations, public services (adequate playground facilities, et cetera), and psychological white domination (white television, white billboards, white-oriented daily newspapers, et cetera). The emergence of the "Black Power" movement largely reflects the fact that many black Americans perceive that traditional Civil Rights techniques must be combined with the development of Negro political unity and economic power in order to deal effectively with issues derived largely from public policy considerations.

* * *

It is very difficult in a few pages to summarize the developments of the past twenty-five years and it is especially difficult to pronounce any kind of a judgement on what they portend for the future. It is, on the other hand, very clear that the Afro-American heritage of the Far West is a significant legacy and that black westerners will assume an even more important role in the future. The precise nature of that role, on the other hand, is still to be determined.

IV. AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE WEST TODAY

Probably a majority of the Americans of African ancestry in the Far West today are not thought of as belonging to the "American Negro" or "black" community. Due to extensive miscegenation (race mixture), the racial differences formerly existing between whites, Negroes, and Indians have become obscured and in no sense are there any "racial" boundaries in the United States today. As a part of this process African genes have been absorbed by the white community while European ancestry has become almost universal within the Negro population.

Intermarriage between whites, Negroes and Indians along the Atlantic seaboard commenced before the appearance of the slave system and then subsequently the process of race mixture was further accelerated by slavery itself. The general tendency has therefore been for the Afro-American population to become lighter with each generation, although less race mixture has taken place since about 1900. At the same time, many tens of thousands of light-skinned mixed-bloods have "passed" into the white population, spreading African and Indian genes in that direction.

The result of this complex process can be summarized as follows. First, the Negro community as such is composed of persons who show obvious evidence of African "Negroid" ancestry or, in a few cases, of part-African whites who choose voluntarily to live as a part of this group. At least eighty per cent of these "American Negroes" or "black people" are part-European and it may well be that few, if any, possess no European ancestor whatsoever. Additionally, one study has revealed that about one-third of the Negroes interviewed knew of an American Indian ancestor, an interesting finding since the most extensive period of Indian-Negro mixture occurred in the West Indies and along the Atlantic seaboard before 1840 and would not be recalled by modern-day Negroes.

The "Negro community" is, then, composed of persons who range in appearance from white or near-white to African "Negroid" and who are descended from African, European, and American Indian ancestors. The group is tending to become more homogeneous in this century, due to a decline in the extent of mixture with non-Negroes and to intermarriage between racial sub-groups within the Negro community. Barring an increase in out-marriage, the "typical" Negro will soon be of a "dark mulatto" type.

Second, Americans of part-African descent who do not belong to the Negro community include the following groups: (1) descendents of English-speaking mixed-bloods who have been "passing" into the white community since colonial times, numbering many millions throughout the United States; (2) members of or descendents from the many mixed Negro-Indian-white groups to be found along the Atlantic seaboard from Rhode Island through the Deep South, numbering at least 100,000 in their home areas today but also including many thousands who have disappeared into the general population; (3) most Puerto Ricans (perhaps two out of three) who are part-African as well as part-Indian; (4) many Spanish and English surnamed persons descended from the Spanish-speaking colonial settlers of Florida, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California; (5) many French-surnamed Louisianans; (6) many Mexican-Americans, since it is estimated that ten percent of the genetic heritage of modern Mexico is of African derivation; (7) many Cubans and other Latin-Americans; and (8) many American Indians throughout the West who have absorbed Negro genes.

Third, Americans of Haitian, Jamaican and other West Indian origin. Some of these people tend to be absorbed into the Negro community while others, if light-skinned, or if French-speaking, tend to maintain a separate identity.

Fourth, newcomers to the United States from Africa (students, scholars, et cetera), whether of "Negroid" appearance or not, tend to form distinct groups apart from the American Negro community (primarily because of cultural differences).

The boundary lines between these part-African groups are seldom rigid. Persons often "pass" from one community to another, either temporarily (on a daily basis, for example) or permanently. In addition, intermarriage continues to obscure the boundaries and "unknown intermarriages" (i.e., between whites of part-African ancestry and whites with no African background) further confuse the "racial" picture. Unfortunately, most part-Africans accepted as whites or as Indians, et cetera, are probably unaware of their ancestry and, therefore, form no social "bridge" between the white and black communities.

* * *

The Negro community as such is not yet a fully unified population, either racially or culturally. Prior to 1900 mulattos (i.e., lighter-skinned mixed-bloods) tended to possess a separate identity from "blacks." Gradually, however, the mulatto community has been forced to merge with that of the darker Negroes because of social and political pressure stemming from the white population. This process is not yet complete, however, and the advertisements in Negro magazines continue to illustrate the higher status accorded lighter-skinned mixed-bloods. The gradual union of the mulatto and black groups since the Civil War has, nonetheless, proceeded quite far and has been of great political and social significance.

In a cultural sense, Negro unification has also been uneven. For example, French-speaking Negroes from Louisiana long possessed a distinctive way of life and a residue of this culture continues to survive, even when transplanted to west coast metropolitan areas. Common experiences of prejudice at the hands of the white community tend, however, to force all persons of noticeable African descent to work together and regional cultural traditions gradually are becoming obscured. This still leaves, though, the matter of "class" differentiation within the Negro community, a phenomenon of great significance and one which, in some areas, continue to reflect the former mulatto Negro dichotomy.

In summary, persons of African ancestry in the United States do not constitute a single racial or cultural minority and many such persons are members of cultural groups distinct from, and sometimes hostile to, the "American Negro" population. In turn, the Negro, "colored," or "black" community, composed as it is of persons of different racial, regional, cultural, and economic class backgrounds, would not ordinarily be thought of as a single minority were it not for the discriminatory pressures arising from hostile segments of the white populatuon. "Black Nationalism" and other efforts at pan-Negro unification, although having the potentiality for the assumption of a positive stance, at this point would appear still to be essentially defensive reactions to white racism. On the other hand, a change in fundamental attitude on the part of embattled urban Negroes is in process at the present time and the end result can not be predicted with confidence.

V. AMERICAN NEGRO CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS: AN OVERVIEW

Is There A "Negro Culture"?

The "American Negro" population, as stressed in the preceding section, does not comprise a single, homogeneous, ethnic unit. Still further, Negro people do not possess a single way of life or culture because of differences related to regionalism, economic class, and degree of assimilation into the Anglo-American world.

For purposes of discussion, the Negro population can be divided into several groups which merge into each other and which are arbitrary, but which may be of some analytical value nonetheless.

More or less distinct from the balance of the Negro population is the Negro middle class, elements of which have occasionally been referred to as "black bourgeoisie" or "black Anglo-Saxons." This group in turn must be divided into a southern small town component and an urban component. The latter is of special interest in connection with the far western United States.

The urban Negro middle class, generally speaking, does not possess a way of life which can be said to be distinct from that of middle-class Caucasians. Virtually all of the behavioral and attitudinal patterns of this group are to be found among whites and, in fact, this population really constitutes a colored caste within the larger Anglo-American population. The Negro middle class may not even possess its own churches and organizations, and when they do exist they carefully mimic Anglo patterns. There is an increasing tendency for individuals and families from this group to reside in integrated neighborhoods and to belong to white-dominated institutions. The members of this population are the primary beneficiaries of efforts to employ Negroes in white collar or professional capacities. Upward mobility is generally of great importance and the schools should encounter no special challenges with pupils derived from this group. On the other hand, the Negro middle class, in common with middle classes in general, is not usually the most originally creative sector of the total Negro population and what creativity does exist generally occurs within an Anglo-American pattern. Within this context, of course, individual Negroes have made outstanding contributions.

As an often marginal group in the United States, middle-class Negroes have sometimes adopted a rather conservative or "cautious" approach to life. The desire to be "accepted" by Anglo-American whites has led to a certain amount of personal and collective insecurity with, perhaps, a corresponding suppression of creative and innovative tendencies. Likewise, the desire to advance economically and socially has often left little time for community service activities, while the desire to imitate white upper middle-class society in a segregated setting has led sometimes to excessive involvement in rather frivolous activities which do not result in any very visible societal benefits. But, of course, in this latter trait the Negro middle-class is not very different from their white upper middle-class counterparts.

Much larger proportions of the Negro population belong to groups which this writer denominates Lower Middle Class Transitional and Black Ghetto. No sharp line divides these two units and both exist within a distinct Negro society (separate organizations, churches, et cetera), use a dialect of English or have traces of dialect, and generally reside in all-black neighborhoods. On the other hand, the lower middle class transitional group possesses contradictory inclinations, which is why it is herein termed a transitional group. Its members appear to value distinctive Negro churches, music, magazines, et cetera, but at the same time are desirous of upward mobility and a greater degree of integration. Families tend to be rather concerned about education and training and strongly support civil rights activities. Generally, this is a working class population with some degree of economic stability and with ambitions of moving into the middle class. Behavior which is unacceptable in middle class contexts tends to be discouraged, and there is as of yet little interest in Africanist cultural revivals, "black nationalism," or perpetuating secular "black culture." On the other hand, the group is transitional not merely in the sense of looking towards and moving towards the Negro middle class but also in the sense of being increasingly influenced by new developments in the black ghetto or central city.

Urban Black Culture

Much of the lower middle class transitional group share elements of what may be termed "urban black culture" with the black central city population. This way of life includes unique black contributions in jazz, dance, fundamentalist Protestantism, and gospel music as well as "hip" styles of dress and behavior, "soul" food (southern Negro cooking), modified southern rural dialect, and special attitudes towards family organization. Newer components, strongest in the black central city population, include several varieties of Islam, Africanist revivals, "Black Arts" innovations, and "black nationalist" influences.

The black central city population is composed primarily of southern rural migrants or their children, as is the lower middle class transitional population. Ghetto dwellers tend, however, to be victims of erratic employment opportunities and are, therefore, more commonly living in poverty and receiving welfare. The male population tends to possess high unemployment ratios, lacks education, and has relatively few job skills. The family tends to be female-centered, with no permanent male head-of-household. The ghetto population, including especially young people, is increasingly becoming hostile and volatile since economic opportunities for this poorest sector of the urban population are actually decreasing and income, relative to the dominant population, is declining.

The black central city, in its larger context, must not, however, be viewed as simply a slum filled with helpless, hopeless, and culturally passive people. On the contrary, the black ghetto and closely related sectors of the lower middle class transitional group have been and are extremely productive elements of United States society. Virtually every innovation conceived in the black center is eventually adopted or adapted by the white population (although not by the Negro middle class until after acceptance by the white middle class). Examples are innovations in music (all of the various jazz, blues, boogie woogie, rock, rhythm and blues styles as well as gospel singing and numerous dance forms), in language (Negro dialect-invented words), in behavior ("hip" styles of body movement and speech), in clothing ("hip" styles in dress), in life styles (attitudes of living from day to day, et cetera), and in literature.

In spite of the creative richness of the black ghetto, though, it has in the past been a community from which many people escaped as their income rose.

The Changing Black "Center"

A fundamental change appears to be occurring at this time in the nature of the "black center," the heart of the black community composed of the larger black ghettoes and nearby working-class neighborhoods. Increasingly, creative and/or educated blacks are remaining in the center or are returning, rejecting the attractions of the Negro middle class and assimilation. Thus a kind of ghetto "middle class" or "elite" is developing, along the lines of what has been evolving in Harlem for decades, but acquiring a new character due to the activities of politically sophisticated student activists, anti-poverty organizers, and outstanding leaders, such as the late Malcolm X.

The black ghetto may in the future become a relatively stable and viable society with its own leadership, folk-controlled educational organizations, locally-owned businesses, and very distinct culture. However, this development depends upon the more creative elements choosing to remain in the ghetto permanently. Not enough time has elapsed as of yet to make clear that the present tendency is more than a temporary trend.

It should also be noted that the future cultural style of the black center is not yet clearly predictable. Afro-American folk culture as evolved in the United States will probably comprise the core of future developments, but there are also many individuals who, to one degree or another, advocate the revival of overseas African cultural traits, along with Muslims who would do away with many key elements in

American Negro folk patterns. The styles of life advocated by followers of the Nation of Islam, the Yoruba Church, and other non-typical movements are quite different from normal ghetto culture. On the other hand, the ghetto has accommodated variant styles before and the differences may gradually be averaged out. To some extent this is indeed occurring among black radicals who adopt "natural" black hair styles and some revived elements of African culture but who also remain "hip" and extol southern "soul" food. Similarly, followers of the late Malcolm X sometimes combine a more or less strong adherence to Islam with an otherwise "normal" ghetto cultural pattern.

The Schools and Negro Cultures

In view of the cultural complexity to be found among "American Negroes" it would seem quite obvious that the first rule for educators must be to be fully informed about the particular cultural desires of the local black community. There can be no standard "plan" for dealing with Negro pupils, in the ghetto or otherwise.

Most social scientists agree that to be meaningful, education must be relevant to the desires of the local community (i.e., neighborhood) and must be offered within the cultural framework provided by that community. This will mean, in practice, that each school must vary its offerings and its orientation according to the reality of the local culture. How is this to be accomplished? It is likely that educators, whether white or black; will not be able to fully express or understand the cultural needs of a local neighborhood without the aid of parents and leaders from that same neighborhood. Local advisory boards or parent's committees will be necessary for each school, but to be useful they must be respected and not used merely as a public relations vehicle. They must, in short, have a real voice in the development of school policy.

The kinds of education offered to Negro children should vary according to the desires of the local black community. No national or regional Negro leadership elite can fully speak for each and every neighborhood and, more especially, middle-class Negro leaders can no longer speak for the black ghetto population. The schools must, in brief, recognize the cultural diversity to be found among people of Afro-American background.

Future Cultural Trends

It seems clear that the black community will not disappear into a sea of assimilation in the very near future. The Negro struggle for equality and justice has indeed opened gates into the mainstream of national life for increasing numbers of persons of African ancestry, but the numbers leaving the Negro world for integrated neighborhoods and social integration will be more than offset by high birth rates in the centers of black population for the forseeable future. In addition, the realities of life in the United States as well as increasing black pride are persuading larger numbers of Afro-Americans to voluntarily shun the attractions of white society.

Only massive "across the board" integration efforts initiated within the Anglo-American community and involving the voluntary desegregation not merely of schools but also of churches, clubs, factories, offices, and neighborhoods can possibly lead to the absorption of the black population into a composite "American" nationality. And even with such an effort, many blacks will still choose, for a variety of reasons, to maintain their own separate institutions and identity.

The continued existence and growth of a distinct Afro-American community is, of course, not necessarily to be viewed as a negative phenomenon. The United States has been immeasurably enriched by its Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, Indian, Mexican, Italian, Puerto Rican, Jewish, Scandinavian, German, Irish, and other ethnic populations and the enrichment has come primarily because these groups have been able to function as viable and unique centers for cultural innovations. For example, the United States would possess no Italian-American variation if Italian immigrants and their descendents had chosen to fully adopt Anglo-American culture and merge with the general population. Variety (sometimes regarded as "the spice of life") and homogeneity are mutually exclusive.

The Negro church has, for example, been an exceptionally rich source of enrichment for life in the United States in the area of music, both religious and secular. Could this be true in the future if all churches were integrated? This writer suspects that the answer is no, that the integrated church would become as musically bland and uncreative as the typical white Protestant church is at present and that would be a tragic loss [illegible] our society. In brief, the Negro folk culture of the United Sta[illegible] a *folk culture* has enriched American life immeasurably and once that folk culture ceases to be a dynamic, functioning *and distinct* reality it will cease to make contributions to our plural heritage.

Voluntary ethnic pluralism is, however, to be clearly distinguished from that kind of enforced segregation which not only negates the right of the individual to seek out his own destiny but which arbitrarily erects walls between whole populations. A black community made separate by exploitation, coercion and discrimination will increasingly become hostile and volatile in addition to becoming artificially nationalistic and separatist. If existing conditions, which serve to fence off the heart of the black community from the mainstream, continue without great amelioration we can expect increasing violence in our cities. This violence in turn will gradually evolve into a nationally-coordinated "war for black liberation" as inter-ghetto alliances are forged across the country.

Such an inter-ethnic struggle, now on the horizon, will probably destroy the Negro middle class as an "in-between" population and will bring about a sharp polarization along ethnic lines. If not destroyed in the process, a completely separate and militantly hostile black population will be the end result of such a "war."

An armed struggle can, of course, be avoided if the dominant society chooses to grant full equality and justice (economic and otherwise) to Afro-Americans. The schools can play a significant role in this process by becoming schools *of* as well as *for* all of the people--by recognizing the multi-cultural reality of our heritage, by meeting the desires and needs of our many unique communities, by providing minorities with a share in the determination of policy, and by ending enforced segregation and inequality of educational opportunity.

VI. SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION: THE MULTI-ETHNIC OR UNI-ETHNIC SCHOOL

The current trend among leading school authorities is to regard the separate uni-ethnic school as a disadvantaged school no matter how "excellent" its program and to regard ethnic integration as a major step forward in the education of minority group children. Evidence has been compiled by several major studies which indicates, for example, that Negro children (on the average) achieve better in an integrated school than in a segregated school.

There is, however, nothing inherently bad about the uni-ethnic school in a homogeneous country as regards formal academic achievement. The majority of schools the world over are homogeneous schools, in the sense of drawing their students from a single language group, nationality, or ethnic population and many such schools have quite obviously not been "disadvantaged" in a formal academic sense. Indeed, an argument can be made that the uni-ethnic school fails to acquaint pupils with youth of other backgrounds and contributes, therefore, to narrow nationalism, ethnocentrism, and chauvinism (and ultimately to international hostility, misunderstanding, and warfare), but this argument in no way renders the uni-ethnic school per se academically unsound.

While it is true that we live in an age of global interaction and on the threshold, perhaps, of international unity, our major socio-ethnic units (nationalities) are still very much in the grip of ancient anti-cosmopolitan ideals. Nationalities have almost always sought to indoctrinate their youth in "patriotism," i.e., loyalty to the ethnic unit (or nation-state) and part of this process of enculturation has consisted in an attempt to draw a rather sharp line between "one's own people" and "foreigners" or "outsiders." It is very likely, then, that the uni-ethnic school will continue to be highly esteemed not so much for its educational value as for its ability to maintain youth within a system of national and group loyalties.

This whole matter becomes more complex, of course, when we discuss schools within the boundaries of a heterogeneous political unit, such as within the United States.

The United States is a state (a sovereign political unit), but it is not yet a nation (a single nationality or ethnic unit). It has always been a multi-ethnic state dominated by one group, the English-speaking "white" majority. The United States is also composed of many different religious groups, socio-economic classes, and other subdivisions.

When one advocates "integrated schools" in the United States what is it one wishes to integrate? A completely integrated school system in any given school district would have to have equal distributions within each school of pupils derived from all of the various ethnic, religious, socio-economic and other sub-populations in the district, and in order to achieve this goal all pupils would have to attend public school.

Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Amish would not be able to segregate themselves in their own schools since such a practice diminishes the percentage of Catholic, Lutheran, Adventist, and Amish children in the public schools. Likewise, wealthy parents would be unable to send their children off to academies or private schools and thereby upset the fully-integrated character of the public schools.

Quite obviously, few advocates of "integration" are concerned with forcing all pupils to attend public schools and, therefore, they are not concerned with total community-wide integration. On the contrary, their preoccupation is usually with ethnic minorities already attending public schools including especially Negroes, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans. The contemporary integration movement arises largely from the fact that for many years racial minorities in the United States were often prevented from attending "white" schools and were forced to attend inferior separate schools instead. The minority school has come to be viewed as an inferior school, *with a good deal of justification*. More recently, the uni-ethnic school, whether "white" or "non-white," has come to be regarded as disadvantaged *per se* because it fails to offer inter-ethnic experiences and does not serve to draw the different elements in the "community" more closely together. This latter goal is in great part a product of the "melting-pot" ideal, that is, of a desire to "assimilate" ethnic minorities and to create a single nationality for the United States.

The goal of school integration has attracted the support of the more liberal and idealistic elements within the United States and is opposed, within the liberal world, only by those liberals or "left-liberals" who espouse the right of a minority ethnic group, such as American Indians, to cultural self-determination. Increasingly, however, integrationists are beginning to be embarrassed by urban black groups who seek to control their "own" schools. Thus the integration-segragation controversy is entering a new and more complex stage brought on by the anti-integration stance of some Afro-Americans coupled with the traditional attitude of Indians.

In order to better understand this controversy certain general ideas need to be discussed. We generally respect the right of an individual or of a group of individuals to establish their own separate organizations or institutions, including schools, if of a "private" character. Many would consider it a violation of individual liberty to force a group of people to abandon their separate non-public organizations in order to belong solely to integrated organizations. On the other hand, institutions supported by public funds or created or protected by public charters and having a public character are generally thought to belong to the entire population and, therefore, to be open to all appropriate persons without regard to race.

On the other hand, not all public schools belong to all of the people supporting them. Federally-operated Indian schools are not usually open to non-Indian pupils even though the Indian school is geographically closer to the pupil's home than is any other school. Likewise, school district boundaries usually serve to restrict attendance by non-district residents though the school district is legally merely a subdivision of a state and receives considerable support from all of the state's taxpayers. The existence of separate school districts serves as an important element in fostering racial segregation, since district boundaries may separate ethnic groups in the same manner as do school attendance boundaries within a district.

Generally speaking, the idea that a public school serving a particular attendance area must be open to all qualified pupils has come to be accepted by most persons in the North and West. In addition, however, the idea has more recently been advanced that the school system is discriminatory if its schools fail to reflect the ethnic distributions found within the entire school district. Where does one stop, however? Must all schools ultimately possess equal distributions based upon national ethnic percentages, state percentages, metropolitan area percentages, county percentages, city percentages, or merely school district percentages? It seems quite obvious that many school districts, cities and even counties are artificial political units cutting arbitrarily across ethnic lines in some cases or leaving out ethnic elements in other cases. In brief, if the goal of ethnic integration in public schools is to be achieved what are our standards for measuring integration? When is a school integrated in the proper proportions?

Large school districts are currently favored by many educators over small districts, and certain it is that larger districts would solve some of the questions raised above. On the other hand, the larger the district the more difficult it is for individual parents to have any impact upon the schools and the more difficult it is for ethnic minorities to achieve a powerful or dominant voice in school affairs.

What are, indeed, the rights of parents in relation to the education of children in public schools? The United States' system of government is generally based upon the principle of "majority-rule" but the right of a majority to impose its will upon a minority is often severely limited by the protections of individual and corporate rights to be found in the federal and state constitutions. To what extent do educational minorities (i.e., groups of parents with educational goals distinct from that of the majority) possess protection from majority rule?

Public schools in the United States have generally been controlled by the majority Anglo-American "white" population and few would deny that such schools have ordinarily been indifferent or hostile to the heritage and culture of minority ethnic groups. In fact, it could well be argued that the Anglo-American majority has consciously utilized the public school as a vehicle for destroying minority cultures and languages. Does this violate the fifth and fourteenth amendments? Can public funds be used by a majority to impose its particular culture upon a minority without violating the "equal protection of the laws" clause of the

Fourteenth Amendment?

More to the point, can integration be forced upon a minority if that integration means essentially that the minority parents will possess no "neighborhood" school or schools under their own control or influence and that their children will be spread among the district's population in such a way as to render more difficult the preservation of the group's cultural-ethnic identity?

Before attempting to answer the above questions, it would be well to make several points clear: mutually desired integration (desired by both minority and majority) is quite distinct from coercive integration (where one party does not desire integration). Likewise, integration desired by a majority and opposed by a minority is operationally distinct from integration desired by a minority and opposed by a majority. Furthermore, the system existing prior to integration vitally affects the nature of the problem. For example, uni-ethnic schools which result from ethnic residential patterns are very different from uni-ethnic schools which result from arbitrary assignment of all pupils to different schools solely on the basis of ethnic identity. Even here, however, the segregated system acquires a peculiar character depending upon whether it results from a situation of conquest (assigning the conquered, "inferior," pupils to separate schools) or from a voluntary tendency towards ethnic separation.

The issue of district-wide integration raises, then, a number of issues which are not as easily answered as some have believed. Let us proceed to examine some further specific examples to illustrate this complexity.

Negroes, at the present time, are faced with the following situation. First, American Negroes for practical purposes do not control any public schools in the United States. In the North and West predominantly Negro schools are almost invariably controlled by white school boards and white-dominated administrative structures. In the South separate Negro school systems are effectively controlled by white legislatures and state structures. Therefore, the Negro community may be said to possess separate schools and school systems but since these are white-controlled they have the character of colonial institutions, i.e., the Negroes are a powerless non-white population governed educationally by a powerful alien group. Additionally, these white-controlled Negro schools possess a peculiar character derived from the fact that they were largely forced upon the Negro population by the white community and owe their continued existence to racist doctrines which denigrate Negro intelligence, morality, et cetera.

As symbols of inferiority such white-controlled black schools are obviously educationally unsound and anti-egalitarian even when upgraded academically. But what is the best solution to the problem? Will a white-controlled integrated school system be substantially superior to a white-controlled segregated system? If the answer is yes, which it probably is, then one can raise the further question, will a black-controlled school system be inferior to white-controlled integrated schools?

It must be borne in mind that all colonialized populations suffer from behavioral and attitudinal problems largely derived from being conquered, from being powerless, and from being denigrated by the colonial power and its population. The mere establishment of legal equality within the framework of the colonial relationship does not seem to solve these problems, as witness the failure of the French Union after World War II. The colonialized population, if a minority, may possess formal legal equality and still remain "powerless" in the face of the alien majority, and, still further, having to accept equality on terms laid down by the conquerer is itself a form of denigration.

Integrated school systems which are white-controlled may not be the panacea imagined by their advocates. In addition, we can not know how such systems would compare educationally with black-controlled systems since the latter have never been allowed to come into existence.

In any case, the white majority, through its representatives, has apparently committed itself to a policy of integration. Such integration may be mutually voluntary in those cases where the Negro population is agreeable or it may be coercive in those rarer instances where the black community desires its "own" schools. If integration takes place in the near future it will be largely voluntary, but if postponed it will encounter greater and greater black resistance. The latter will tend to grow not only as the Negro population acquires greater internal cohesion and pride but as black people come to believe that separation is an irrelevant issue as compared with the problem of "power."

Many of the advocates of integration will, however, object to the above discussion on the grounds that integrated schools will not be under white control but will rather be under "community" control and that blacks will share power with whites. Such may well be the case in a few districts and even in a few states in the near future but such is not the case at present. In spite of being a large minority in such urban centers as Los Angeles, Oakland, Chicago, and New York, Negroes have not been able to obtain proportionate power over the schools for a variety of reasons including the fact that the educational hierarchy has a built-in ability to resist the influence of minorities. More significantly, the white community's "wealth-power" if often more important than its "vote-power" in maintaining control. Finally, electing or appointing school trustees on a district-wide basis ordinarily provides the white majority with the ability to elect all of the trustees. Negroes elected to such a school board often must depend for election upon securing a substantial number of white votes.

It is also ironic that the rapid move towards district-wide integration in many northern and western cities comes precisely at a time when OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) and ESEA Title I (U. S. Office of Education) funds are encouraging greater activity on the part of Negro parents and greater participation in the operation of their local neighborhood schools. Can such participation be maintained in non-neighborhood, district-wide or area-wide, integrated schools? Will low-income black parents compete for office with upper-income white PTA "professionals"? Do educators really desire the long-range participation of black parents, as opposed to the mere use of parental support for getting bond issues passed?

The integration process, when it involves a district-wide shifting about of pupils, must not be regarded as a solution for all of the problems derived from the multi-ethnic character of American communities. An integrated non-neighborhood school may make parental involvement more difficult and could have the effect of making the school completely irrelevant to the socio-cultural desires of neighborhood-based ethnic minorities. A uni-ethnic neighborhood school, even if white-controlled, may be forced by circumstances to relate its programs to the people living in the neighborhood it serves, but an area-wide or district-wide school may be less under pressure to adopt anything other than a "standard" Anglo-American orientation.

Is there a middle-ground? Is it possible to achieve ethnic integration within appropriate geographic units without diminishing parental involvement, without homogenizing the orientation and curricula of the school, and without ignoring the cultural heritages of the various ethnic groups involved? Can minority rights to cultural self-development be preserved in the face of a majority decision to "mix" pupils of different cultures together?

This writer believes that a middle-ground can be found providing that Anglo-Americans realize that they have often used the schools as a vehicle for the transmission of their cultural heritage and that they usually have had an unduly powerful voice in school governance. More to the point, the truly integrated school should be perceived as not merely being one wherein students of different ethnic backgrounds are physically placed in adjacent seats. On the contrary, it is a school where the curricular offerings, the overall school atmosphere, the staff, and the controlling body are also integrated. It is, in short, a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural school maintained by a school district whose governing board and advisory committees are chosen in such a manner as to ensure proportionate minority group representation. In most districts this will mean that school board members are drawn from specific neighborhoods with seats apportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis.

The desire of specific ethno-cultural groups to transmit their heritage to their children can be met by the multi-cultural school in a variety of ways, some of which will be discussed in more detail in a later section as they pertain to the Afro-American. One such way is, first, to offer cross-cultural materials to all pupils in the mixed school and, second, to offer courses designed to transmit the cultural heritage and history of a particular group only to members of that group (along with pupils from other groups if the latter voluntarily enroll). For example, in a highly mixed San Francisco Bay Area school special courses might be offered separately for the Japanese-American, Mexican-American, Negro, American Indian, Chinese-American, and Anglo-American pupils, either on a "released time" or "after-hours" basis or as a part of the normal school day. These special ethnic-centered offerings could be developed and operated by parents, thus insuring a high degree of parental involvement and identification with the school.

The record of several generations of non-white pupils attending white-controlled integrated schools suggests that such schools, unless they possess a multi-cultural orientation, may in some cases be no better than white-controlled segregated schools and may possibly be inferior to minority-controlled separate schools. Mere physical integration, it must be kept in mind, is not wholly new for the members of any of the minority groups found within the United States. Large numbers of American Indians, Negroes, and Mexican-Americans have found the integrated school to be a failure in relation to their own individual needs. Although statistical evidence can be compiled to show that minority group pupils tend to do better academically, on the average, in integrated schools the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of the pupils in such schools are ordinarily closer to that of the white middle-class and may be a more decisive factor in academic achievement than the racial character of the school's pupil population.

In summary, this writer simply wishes to caution educators about the wisdom of promoting full ethnic integration as some kind of messianic cure-all for minority group achievement problems or as a device for the "Americanization" of minorities. In our zeal to bring about an end to a great social injustice, that of enforced segregation in inferior schools, we must not create other injustices relating to the suppression of minority cultural rights. The integrated multicultural school is recommended as a possible answer to both of these needs, offering equality of opportunity and the right to be different.

VII. SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

A. A school serving Afro-American pupils should serve as a bridge between these students and the adult world which they will subsequently enter. This adult world will sometimes be Anglo in character, but more often it will be of a mixed Anglo-Negro culture. In any case, the school, if it is to be a bridge, must serve as a transitional experience and not as a sudden leap into a foreign set of values and practices.

Additionally, American Negroes live within the margins of a society which has treated them in an almost unbelievably repressive manner for three hundred years, and more terribly still, has attempted (consciously or otherwise) to instill in the Negro a sense of inferiority. The school must address itself to the task of bolstering the self-image of black pupils and adults in order to overcome the psychological effects of centuries of discrimination. This is a doubly difficult task in view of the continuing reality of life in the United States, but it must be undertaken as a central function of any school serving Afro-Americans.

For all of the above reasons such a school needs to develop a set of strategies, in close collaboration with the local black community, which will make the school truly belong to the people being served, rather than to the people who operate the school system.

The following are suggestions which hopefully will help to bring about such a change.

1. The school environment should have some element of Afro-American character, subject, of course, to the desires of the local black community. Such character can be created by means of murals depicting aspects of the Afro-American or African heritage, the erection of statues depicting outstanding leaders of African ancestry, displays of African and Afro-American arts and crafts, bulletin boards depicting black people and their accomplishments, and by the adoption of a name for the school which is relevant to our Afro-American past. The expense involved in the above will not necessarily be great, as adults in the local Afro-American community might well become involved in projects which would have the effect of making the school "their" school.

2. Teachers and administrators in such a school should be familiar with the dialect spoken by the pupils and should be encouraged to utilize this language wherever appropriate in order to enhance communciation both with pupils and with parents.

3. Imaginative administrators and teachers may wish to further linguistic development by using the local dialect as an initial means for introducing language concepts and for developing

bi-dialectical skills.

4. If the local dialect is sufficiently different from standard English, the latter will need to be taught with an "English as a second language" technique.

5. Where the local community is interested, non-European languages spoken in Africa (such as Arabic, Swahili, or Yoruba) might be offered along with, or in place of, European languages at the secondary level. The United States needs persons able to speak African native languages and likewise certain Afro-American groups are interested in having such idioms taught.

6. Supplementary materials utilized in the classroom, as well as library resources, should include numerous Negro-oriented items (magazines, newspapers, books, phonograph records, films, et cetera), in order to provide cross-cultural experiences for all pupils and to provide an atmosphere relevant to the black pupil's heritage.

   Afro-American periodicals used in the school should cover the full range of opinion, including, for example, *Ebony* magazine with its basically Negro middle class orientation, militantly separatist *Liberator* magazine, and *Mr. Muhammad Speaks*, an organ of the Nation of Islam. The issues raised by these various publications are often real issues which cannot be ignored by a school designed to be involved with the community and its concerns.

7. Every effort should be made to acquaint pupils and visiting parents with the rich literature now available pertaining to Africa and Afro-Americans. Many techniques are useful, including a permanent display case near the main entrance to the school, a paperback library operated by students or parents, a paperback bookstore, and an extensive use of supplementary soft-cover books as a part of regular classwork. Books by black authors should be given special prominence, as in a display case where photographs of the author can be placed next to the book being exhibited.

8. Curricula in the school should possess a Negro dimension wherever appropriate. In social science courses where the development of the western United States is being discussed, attention should be given to the black pioneers of the Southwest, to Negro governors, explorers and soldiers, and to more recent Afro-American developments. Courses in Afro-American history should be offered in all schools attended by pupils of African ancestry and these courses should not limit their attention to United States English-speaking Negroes.

9. Courses in literature should include readings in African and Afro-American literature (in translation, if necessary) and works

by and about Negroes.

10. Curricula in music and "music appreciation" should give attention to all classes of Afro-American music, including folk-"blues", jazz, Afro-Brazilian, Afro-Cuban, Calypso, and other forms. In many schools, instruction in Afro-American musical forms might well replace or supplement the standard band and orchestra classes, in order to take advantage of one of the important assets brought to school by many Negro pupils.

11. The dance would appear to be an area where many black young people can readily contribute to the enrichment of a school's program. While it would be a mistake to hold that all youth of Negro background are "good dancers", it is nonetheless true that black culture encourages the development of this skill. African and Afro-American dance styles should be included in any dance curriculum, along with other forms of the art.

12. Arts and crafts courses should acquaint all pupils with African and Afro-American art forms and should provide a close tie-in with the various "Black Arts" movements developing in ghetto communities.

13. Southern Negro cooking should be available as a part of the school's programs in home economics wherever sufficient interest exists.

14. Since one of the primary objectives of educators should be the linking of the school with the local adult community, it follows that Afro-American adults and youth should be involved in the life of the school as resource people, supplementary teachers, teacher's aides, and special occasion speakers.

    Additionally, local advisory committees should be asked to help develop policy either for a neighborhood school or for a Negro-oriented cultural enrichment program in a district-wide or regional school. No elements of African or Afro-American culture should be introduced into any school without the active participation of local black people in the development of the program.

15. Our Afro-American cultural heritage, whenever brought into the school, should be treated an an integral and valuable part of our common legacy, and not as a bit of "exotica" to be used solely for the benefit of black pupils.

16. In a school composed of students from diverse cultural backgrounds every effort should be made to bring a little of each culture into the school. A part of this effort might involve incorporating each major ethnic celebration into the school routine (focusing on Chinese-Americans at Chinese New Year, Mexican-Americans during Cinco de Mayo, Negroes during Negro

History Week, et cetera).

17. School personnel should receive special training in Afro-American culture and history and should have some background in anthropology and/or sociology. It may well be that school personnel hired for employment in ghetto-area schools should have several weeks of intensive pre-service training in cross-cultural dynamics not unlike that received by Peace Corps and VISTA trainees. Such training should actively involve persons from the local community to be served.

18. A school serving a ghetto neighborhood should become closely identified with the aspirations of the local community and should function, in so far as is possible, within the framework of the local culture. This may call for much reorientation on the part of middle class school personnel, whether of African or non-African ancestry. It will also call for a revamping of the curricula so that course content deals with the real world perceived daily by ghetto children. For example, courses in United States Government should describe the manner in which political action actually takes place and not an idealized version of what might be the case in some non-existant utopia. Perhaps one appropriate manner in which to teach governmental concepts might involve training secondary-level students as community organizers or community service workers.

19. School personnel who believe that it is important to examine pupils periodically in order to provide data on "ability" for future counseling or "tracking" should wish to obtain accurate information by the use of tests which are relatively unbiased. It is difficult to ascertain the potential of dialect-speaking youth by means of standard English-language tests, nor can that of low-income students be predicted on the basis of tests oriented toward middle-class paraphenalia or concepts. On the other hand, biased tests will substantially predict the formal achievement level of culturally different or low-income pupils attending biased schools. Therefore, a change in tests will accomplish little unless accompanied by changes in the school, which serve to realize and enhance the potential revealed by the new test.

20. Maximum use should be made of techniques which are designed to enhance self-concept and involve the community in the life of the school, including the use of parent teaching aides, older pupils as tutors for younger pupils, and college students of minority background as para-professional counselors. See sub-section D (below) for additional related suggestions.

B. The above suggestions are basically designed to change the atmosphere of the school so as to provide greater motivation for all concerned, as well as to impart useful knowledge. In addition, many curricular and methodological innovations are available which are expected to improve learning for all students and these new programs should certainly be made available to Afro-American youngsters. It is to be suspected, however, that a school which is basically indifferent or hostile toward the local black culture will not succeed in stimulating greater learning merely by the use of methodological innovations unaccompanied by a change in the general orientation of the school.

C. Attention should be given to African and Afro-American history and culture in all schools, regardless of ethnic composition. Anglo-American young people grow up in a "never-never" land of mythology as regards the Negro and it is crucial for our society's future that anti-Negro myths be exposed and eliminated. We must bear in mind that the "white problem in America", the tendency of Anglo-Americans for three centuries to exploit and denigrate non-whites, is probably still the major hurdle blocking the advancement of the black population. White young people, growing up in a mythic world of prejudice against Negroes and knowing nothing of black contributions, may well, as adults, frustrate many of the goals of educational programs directly involving Afro-Americans.

The multi-cultural reality of American life and history should be a part of every school's curriculum.

D. In many urban settings it may be that the creation of "Community Education Centers" in place of age-segregated secondary, continuation, and adult schools will contribute to the solution of a number of problems. Many urban centers lack sufficient facilities for "adult education", have essentially unsatisfactory "continuation schools" for their most difficult students, and experience serious discipline and motivation problems in the ordinary secondary schools.

For the above reasons, it is herein suggested that urban secondary schools be transformed into multi-purpose "educational centers" for the total community which they serve, after the pattern of the junior college. To eliminate the segregated "teenage" and "adult" schools, to add to the total educational resources of a community, and to improve school-community relations, the following specific changes in secondary schools are suggested:

1. Open up all classes in the regular day program to any student, regardless of age, who might benefit from the class.
2. Open up all evening "adult" classes to any student, regardless of age, and develop evening programs where none exist.
3. Combine the regular day and evening programs, along with new late afternoon and Saturday classes, into a continuous day program.
4. Provide a nursery and a pre-school so that mothers of small children

may enroll for classes.

5. Provide a social lounge and center, perhaps in a partially used basement area, to be decorated by the students and kept open until 10:00 p.m.

6. Provide areas, if space is available, for sewing centers, et cetera, for adults as well as youth.

7. Utilize teenage students as much as possible in working with the nursery, pre-school, and other projects, so as to provide opportunities for the development of self-confidence and other desirable qualities.

8. Abolish all age-grading systems, so that each class consists of students capable of doing the work regardless of age.

9. Allow older teenagers to carry a partial load and still remain involved in the school's program.

10. Encourage work-experience programs.

11. Encourage the teachers, parents, adult and "regular" students to elect an advisory board to develop school policy, innovations, and enrichment experiences.

12. Alter the curriculum and orientation of the school so as to make it fully relevant to the language, culture, and desires of the community served.

13. Conduct a series of intensive community-teacher workshops to develop a full awareness of the contributions which both groups can make, and of the character and social dynamics of the local community.

Accompanying the opening up of classes to all and their extension into the evening hours and to weekends should also be the following:

1. The development of an adequate bookstore in each school, making available a significant proportion of current educational paper-bound books and periodicals;

2. Allowing instructors to offer at least one seminar-type course each semester, perhaps on a topic of their choice, but with the approval of their faculty colleagues and based upon community relevance.

3. Allowing instructors to establish their own class schedules, using the extended day period and Saturday if so desired, subject primarily to the approval of their faculty colleagues;

4. Encouraging faculty to keep abreast of new knowledge in their fields by providing scholarships which would enable teachers to take additional subject-matter course work or pursue research-literature review interests during the non-teaching months.

In summary, it seems a shame indeed that in many urban areas where non-scholastics are in obvious need of the opportunity for additional secondary-level schooling, that the only schools in their areas or neighborhoods capable of meeting these needs arbitrarily restrict themselves to certain kinds of potential students or segregate by age-groups and thereby diminish the educational opportunities of all concerned.

The physical facilities and most of the personnel needed for community education centers are already available. All that is needed now is a willingness to experiment and innovate.

VIII. GUIDE TO RESOURCES AND FURTHER READING

A. Published Sources (An asterisk indicates availability in paperback and suitability for classroom use.)

This guide is not intended to be an exhaustive bibliography of materials dealing with Afro-Americans. It is, rather a selective guide to those items which the author considers to be especially valuable for school personnel and for classroom use. Where an adequate bibliography already exists this fact will be indicated.

No attempt has been made to list or analyze materials designed primarily for elementary school classroom use. Instead the reader is referred to Minnie W. Kobiltz, The Negro in Schoolroom Literature: Resource Materials for the Teacher of Kindergarten Through the Sixth Grade (Center for Urban Education, 33 W. 42nd Street, New York, 10036, 25¢ per copy with reduced prices for larger orders).

The teacher, administrator, or counselor working with black pupils will need to keep abreast of the latest developments in the literature and in the availability of special kinds of resource material. This need cannot be fully met by any guide or bibliography but must ultimately be the responsibility of each staff member of of a single person in each school assigned the task of serving as a resource person. Fortunately a number of Negro publications, such as The Crisis (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), frequently report upon resource materials which are available and present lists of books by Negro authors. It will, however, be necessary for the staff member (or the school library) to subscribe to a number of black publications, including local newspapers, in order to keep fully informed. This is especially true as regards the availability of special publications (pamphlets, mimeographed materials, etc.), arts and crafts items for school displays, art exhibits, plays, and concerts suitable for field trips, and posters and pictures for bulletin board usage.

It will also be necessary for school personnel, or a designated staff member, to regularly read the reviews of Negro-related books to be found in black publications. Only in this manner can the reactions of the black community to a particular book be readily assessed, and, in addition, such a practice serves to keep personnel currently abreast of the literature. One possible procedure might be for a designated staff person to reproduce copies of the appropriate book reviews and distribute them regularly to other personnel. This same technique might be applicable to the dissemination of information from key journal articles. Such periodicals as Journal of Negro History, Phylon, Freedomways, Journal of Human Relations, and The Crisis are valuable for their book reviews, while magazines such as Liberator review films and developments in the fine arts.

1. Sources Dealing With Afro-Americans of the Far West

General works dealing with American Negroes seldom contain much information on western developments and few currently available books deal specifically with the West. No bibliographies are known to be available except as a part of the books and articles cited below. For additional resources relating to the Afro-American in any particular state or sub-region, the reader will wish to consult with commissions and agencies concerned with human relations and equal employment opportunities, with local black organizations, with reference librarians in the larger libraries, and with white organizations concerned with civil liberties. The larger university libraries will usually contain some unpublished material, such as master's theses or doctoral dissertations, and may well have modest collections of documentary data in their archival or "special collections" departments.

Books and Monographs:

Beasley, Delilah L., *Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles: Mirror Printing, 1919).

Bonner, T. D., *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1856).

Conot, Robert, *Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness* (New York: Bantam Books, 1967). An excellent reconstruction of the Los Angeles ("Watts") riot of 1965 coupled with a great deal of background information on race relations in southern California.

Durham, Philip, and Everett L. Jones, *The Negro Cowboy* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1965).

Elman, Richard, *Ill At Ease in Compton* (New York: Pantheon, 1967). A description of the problems of Compton, California, with emphasis upon integration and Negro-white relations.

Harris, Theodore H., ed., *Henry O. Flipper, Negro Frontiersman* (El Paso: Texas Western College Press, 1963).

Leckie, William H., *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

________. *Negro Californians* (San Francisco: Fair Employment Practices Commission, 1965).

________. *The Negro in the West, Part One, The Negro Worker* (San Francisco: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1966).

________. The Negro in the West, Part Two, The Negro Consumer (San Francisco: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1966).

________. Negroes and Mexican-Americans in South and East Los Angeles (Sacramento: State Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Labor Statistics and Research, 1966)

________. Racial and Ethnic Survey of California Public Schools, Part One: Distribution of Pupils, Fall, 1966 (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1967).

________. Racial and Ethnic Survey of California Public Schools, Part Two: Distribution of Employees, Fall, 1966 (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1967).

Thurman, Sue Bailey, Pioneers of Negro Origin in California (San Francisco: Acme, 1949). A brief pamphlet.

Periodicals and Specialized Materials:

Periodical articles dealing with western Negro history have appeared in the Journal of Negro History (e.g., Rudolph M. Lapp's "The Negro in Gold Rush California," April, 1964), in Phylon (e.g., Jack D. Forbes, "Black Pioneers: the Spanish-Speaking Afro-Americans of the Southwest," Fall, 1966), and in such varied publications as the California Historical Society Quarterly, New Mexico Historical Review, Grizzly Bear Magazine, Southwestern Historical Quarterly (e.g., Kenneth W. Porter's "The Seminole Negro Indian Scouts, 1870-1881," January, 1952 and "Negroes and Indians on the Texas Frontier," October, 1949), and The Movement (e.g., Hardy Frye's "Negroes in Early California," February, 1967). In general, indexes to state and local historical quarterlies will need to be checked along with guides to periodical literature.

Specialized material with some information on Afro-Americans is occasionally produced by school districts. The Berkeley Unified School District, for example, is currently preparing a Negro history monograph which contains the names of San Francisco Bay Area Afro-Americans available as resource people. The Lou Jones Newsletter published by the Intergroup Relations Association of Northern California, 511 Verano Court, San Mateo, California, contains announcements of the availability of irregularly-published materials. Newsletters issued by public agencies such as the California Fair Employment Practices Commission and the San Francisco Human Relations Commission are also helpful in this regard.

Of special value in regard to problems of segregation in the Los Angeles area are John W. Caughey's Segregation Blights Our Schools (Quail Books, 1967) and John and Laree Caughey's School Segregation on Our Doorstep (Quail Books, 1966).

2. Sources of African History and Culture

Source material on Africa is now available in considerable quantity. Cited below are introductory works, some of which are intended for use by secondary-level students while others are intended for teachers. Most of the works cited herein contain bibliographies which will guide the reader to more technical or regionally-focused sources. The periodicals mentioned in section nine (periodicals and pamphlets), and especially African Abstracts, will also provide guidance to more specialized resources.

No effort has been made to list works dealing with the recent history of Africa.

*Beattie, John, Bunyoro: An African Kingdom (New York: Holt, 1960). A description of the history and culture of the Kingdom of Bunyoro in Uganda. Suitable for advanced high school students.

Chu, Daniel and Elliott Skinner, A Glorious Age in Africa (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965). A secondary-level introduction to the ancient civilizations of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay.

Curtin, Philip D., Africa Remembered, Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

Davidson, Basil, Africa: History of a Continent (New York: MacMillan, 1966). A very readable and accurate history of all of Africa.

A Guide to African History: A General Survey of the African Past from Earliest Times to the Present, edited by Haskel Frankel (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965). An excellent work for use in secondary schools.

A History of West Africa to the Nineteenth Century (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966). A fairly detailed but nonetheless interesting history of the black peoples of West Africa.

Black Mother: The Years of the African Slave Trade (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961).

The African Past: Chronicles from Antiquity to Modern Times (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964).

The Lost Cities of Africa (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963).

DeGrant-Johnson, J. C., African Glory: The Story of Vanished Negro

Civilizations (New York: Walker & Co., 1966). A history of Negro peoples.

Diamond, Stanley and Fred G. Burke, ed., The Transformation of East Africa: Studies in Political Anthropology (New York: Basic Books, 1966)

*Dobler, Lavinia and William A. Brown, Great Rulers of the African Past (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965). A secondary level account of the lives of five African leaders of four hundred or more years ago.

Fage, J. D., Atlas of African History (London: Arnold, 1958).

Kenyatta, Jomo, Facing Mount Kenya (London: Lecker and Warburg, 1938). An introduction to the Kikuyu people and to the Kenya independence movement.

Kilson, Martin, Political Change in a West African State: A Study of the Modernization Process in Sierra Leone (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

*Mair, Lucy, Primitive Government (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1962). A good description of the native political institutions of African tribal groups with emphasis upon east Africa. Useful for superior students interested in comparative political institutions.

*Oliver, R. and Fage, J. D., A Short History of Africa (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1962).

Trimingham, J. S., The History of Islam in West Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

Wauthier, Claude, The Literature and Thought of Modern Africa, Tr. by Shirley Ray. (New York: Praeger, 1967). An introduction to "negritude" as evidenced in the writing of modern black Africa.

3. Sources on the Afro-American Past

Much information on the Afro-American past (as well as on the following category. Contemporary Issues) can be found in general bibliographies and guides like the following:

______. Bibliographic Survey: The Negro in Print (Washington, D.C.: The Negro Bibliographic and Research Center, Inc.). A carefully annotated survey, published six times a year.

*Miller, Elizabeth W., The Negro in America: A Bibliography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966). A survey of recent writings.

*Welsch, Erwin K., The Negro in the U.S.: A Research Guide Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1964).

Work, Monroe N., A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America (New York: Octagon Books, 1965).

Some bibliographic guides are designed especially for schools:

______. Integrated School Books: A Descriptive Bibliography of Selected Classroom Texts. (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1966). 18pp.

Kast, William, Resource Unit on the Negro (New York: Bantam, in press). A handbook for secondary teachers for use in the social studies curriculum. Programmatic techniques, special units, resources, as well as bibliographic and audiovisual references.

Penn, Joseph E., Elaine C. Brooks and Mollie L. Berch, (eds.), The Negro American in Paperback (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth St. N.W., 1967). 35¢. A selected list of paperbound books compiled and annotated for secondary school students.

The reader should also consult the bibliographies contained in books on the subject. For instance, Herskovits' bibliography in The Myth of the Negro Past is an excellent source of materials from outside the United States, and John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom contains a particularly comprehensive bibliography.

BOOKS:

*Aptheker, Herbert, American Negro Slave Revolts (New York: International Publishers, 1963). A basic source.

Documentary History of the Negro in the United States (Vols. I & II) (New York: Citadel, 1951). Contains valuable documents not found elsewhere. Together they provide deep insight into American Negro history.

Beltrán, Gonzalo A., La Poblacion Negra de Mexico, 1519-1810 (Mexico: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1940).

*Bennett, Lerone, Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964 (Baltimore: Penguin, 1965). A very readable history of the Negro from the great African Empires to the Civil Rights movements of the early 1960's.

*Botkin, Benjamin A., Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945). A collection of reminiscenses of ex-slaves about slavery.

Broderick, Francis L., W. E. B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959).

Buckmaster, Henrietta, Let My People Go (Boston: Beacon, 1959). Vivid story of the Underground Railroad.

Cronon, Edmund David, The Story of Marcus Garvey (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1955). The life of Garvey is particularly significant today, with black separatism growing strong again.

Davis, Allison, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941). Provides insight into the status of black people in the pre-World War II South.

*Dobler, Lavinia G. and E. A. Toppin, Pioneers and Patriots (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965). The lives of six Negroes during the era of the American revolution, written for secondary pupils.

Donnan, Elizabeth, Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America (Washington: Carnegie Institute, 1935). Multivolume.

*Douglass, Frederick, The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (New York: Collier, 1962). This classic American autobiography of the great Negro leader's life first as a slave, then as abolitionist writer and statesman, is indispensable reading.

DuBois, W. E. B., *Black Folk, Then and Now, an Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1939)

*_Black Reconstruction in America_ (New York: Meridian, 1962; first pub. 1935)

Darkwater, Voices From Within the Veil (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920)

Dusk of Dawns: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940)

*_The Souls of the Black Folk_ (New York: Fawcett, 1961). A collection of essays that has become a classic in Afro-American literature. Considered by many the effective impetus of Negro militancy in the twentieth century.

The World and Africa (New York: Viking, 1947)

Dumond, Dwight L., *Antislavery* (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1961). A basic source on the abolitionist movement.

*Elkins, Stanley M., *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, Universal Library, 1959). Skillfully utilizes the insights of social psychology to determine why American slavery was different from other slave systems and why its effects upon the Negro personality have been so severe and persisting.

Franklin, John Hope, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York: Knopf, 1956). An objective scholarly history with an excellent bibliography.

Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). A basic study.

*Freyre, Gilberto, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York: Knopf, 1946). A history of the Negro in Brazil during the slave era.

*Garfinkle, Norton, (ed.), *Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War* (Boston: Heath, 1959). (Heath American Studies Series)

Garvey, Marcus, *Philosophy and Opinions* (New York: Universal, 1925). Compiled by Amy Jacques-Garvey. Two volumes. The views of the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Goldwin, Robert A., (ed.), *100 Years of Emancipation* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963). A collection of articles, mostly written by scholars.

Herskovits, Melville, The Myth of the Negro Past (Boston: Beacon, 1958). A basic analysis of the origins and cultural legacies of Afro-Americans.

Holmes, S. J., The Negro's Struggle for Survival (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).

Hughes, Langston and Milton Meltzer, (eds.), A Pictorial History of the Negro in America (New York: Crown, 1956). Excellent use of pictures and facsimiles of documents.

Johnson, James Weldon, Black Manhattan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956)

Katz, William Loren, Eyewitness: The Negro in American History (New York: Pitman, in press)

A Teacher's Guide to American Negro History Materials (To be published this year--1967)

Korngold, Ralph, Citizen Toussaint (New York: Hill & Wang, 1965). A good biography of the famous black Haitian general.

Kugelmass, J. A., Ralph J. Bunche, Fighter for Peace (New York: Messner, 1952)

*Litwack, Leon F., North of Slavery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961). The best general study available on the Negro in the North before the Civil War.

Locke, Alain, (ed.), The New Negro: An Interpretation (New York: Boni, 1925)

Logan, Rayford W., The Negro in American Life and Thought (New York: Dial Press, 1954)

The Negro in the United States: A Brief History (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1957)

What the Negro Wants (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944). A collection of essays.

*Meier, August, The Negro in American Thought, 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964)

*Meltzer, Milton, and August Meier, Time of Trial, Time of Hope: The Negro in America, 1919 to 1941 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966). Written for secondary students.

*Olmstead, Frederick L., The Slave States (Before the Civil War) (New York: Putnam, 1959). A first-hand view of the South during the 1850's.

Pierson, Donald, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

*Quarles, Benjamin, The Negro in the Making of America (New York: Collier Books, 1964). A brief history of the Negro's place in American history down to the Second World War. A good introductory chapter on Africa.

Redding, J. Saunders, On Being Negro in America (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1951).

Rowan, Carl T., South of Freedom (New York: Knopf, 1952)

Rozwenc, Edwin C., (ed.) Reconstruction in the South (Boston: Heath, 1952). A collection of readings.

Stampp, Kenneth M., The Peculiar Institution (New York: Vintage, 1956). A good introduction to slavery in the South.

*Sterling, Dorothy, and Benjamin Quarles, Lift Every Voice (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965). The lives of DuBois, Terrell, Washington, and J. W. Johnson, written for secondary students.

*Stowe, Harriet, Uncle Tom's Cabin (New York: Washington Square, 1962). It would be fruitful to read this anti-slavery classic in conjunction with Baldwin's discussion of it, "Everybody's Protest Novel," included in Notes of a Native Son.

*Tannenbaum, Frank, Slave and Citizen: the Negro in the Americas (New York: Vintage Books, 1946). A comparative study of African slavery in the Americas which seeks to place the U.S. slave system in perspective.

*Walker, David, One Continual Cry: David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World (with "Its Setting and Meaning" by Herbert Aptheker), (New York: Marzani and Munsell, 1965). The earliest bold attack upon slavery written by a black American.

*Washington, Booker T., Up From Slavery (New York: Bantam Books, 1959). Published in 1900, this autobiography remains a valuable source of information on Washington and his approach to race relations.

*Wish, Harvey, (ed.), The Negro Since Emancipation (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1964)

*Woodward, C. Vann, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955). An excellent study of segregation from its beginning in the post-Reconstruction South to present.

*Wright, Richard, Black Boy (New York: Signet, 1945)

*Ziegler, Benjamin M., (ed.), Desegregation and the Supreme Court (Boston: Heath, 1958). A collection of essays.

The author has not attempted to examine secondary-level history texts in an exhaustive manner, but of five junior high school textbooks carefully scrutinized only one, Land of the Free by Caughey, Franklin, and May, is acceptable as regards minority groups. A useful supplementary hardback book for the secondary-level is Negro American Heritage by Paul Lawrence, Florence Randall, Takako Endo, and Esther McStay; historical editor, Arna Bontemps. (San Francisco: The Century Schoolbook Press, 1966).

4. Sources on Contemporary Issues

Materials for this subject are particularly liable to the flux of contemporary events. Black militancy, for example, is a dynamic and various movement, constantly subject to change. In addition to consulting the bibliographies cited in the previous section, therefore, the reader will have to depend somewhat more on periodical literature and pamphlets. As mentioned in the introduction, a variety of magazines, from the Saturday Review to Crisis, and periodicals like Freedomways and Journal of Human Relations competently review current publications. Phylon has an annual review (Summer) of all books written by and about Negroes.

The reader can find valuable current encyclopedic information in reference books such as, The Negro Almanac, compiled and edited by Harry Ploski and Rosco Brown (Bellweather, 1967), The American Negro Reference Book edited by John P. Davis, and The Negro Handbook compiled by editors of Ebony (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1966).

Books:

*Allport, Gordon, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Doubleday, 1958) (Anchor Books). A sound and comprehensive analysis of group prejudice.

*Baldwin, James, Nobody Knows My Name (New York: Dell, 1961).

*Notes of A Native Son (Boston: Beacon, 1957) (New York: Bantam, 1964).

*The Fire Next Time (New York: Dell, 1963). It is said that this essay has had as significant an impact as Souls of the Black Folk did in 1903. All the above essays are basic reading.

*Bennett. Lerone, Jr., Confrontation: Black and White (Baltimore: Penguin, 1965). An historical discussion of the Negro struggle for equal rights from colonial times through 1965 (The New York Times calls it a "provocative primer" for young people).

Broderick, Francis L. and Meier, August, ed., Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., 1966). A chronological sourcebook of documents ranging from Washington, Trotter, Du Bois, and Garvey to Randolph, Wilkins, Farmer, and King.

*Brown, C., Manchild in the Promised Land (New York: New American Library, 1966). A powerful representation of ghetto life.

*Cash, Wilbur J., The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage, 1960). An exploration of attitudes of southern whites toward Negroes.

Clarke, John Henrik, Ed., Harlem: A Community in Transition (New York: Citadel, 1964). A collection of essays, photographs, and poems.

*Clark, Kenneth B., Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper, 1965). (Torchbook, 1967). A probing study of the Negro "power structure" and the psychology of the ghetto. It describes the efforts of HARYOU (Harlem Youth Organization), which Clark directs, to combat the system that maintains ghettoes.

Editor, The Negro Protest: James Baldwin, Malcolm X, Martin L. King, Jr. (Boston: Beacon, 1963).

*Prejudice and Your Child (Boston: Beacon, 1963). A sound and incisive account of the broad and subtle ways children absorb racial prejudice and an examination of its effects.

Dollard, John, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New York: Doubleday, 1949, third edition). An excellent source on race-relations in the small-town Deep South during the 1930's with a chapter on education. Out of date in some respects, it is still useful background reading.

Drake, St. Clair and Layton, Horace R., Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City (2 Vol.) (New York: Harper & Row, 1962). A comprehensive study of Negro life in Chicago through the early 1940's, with appendices written in 1962.

Edwards, Gilbert Franklin, The Negro Professional Class (New York: Free Press, 1959).

Essien-Udom, E. U., Black Nationalism (New York: Dell, 1964). A very excellent survey of black separatist movements in the United States, focusing primarily upon the Nation of Islam. Published first in 1962, the growth of separatism of non-Muslim varieties has already altered the book's subject but it still remains a valuable source with a good bibliography.

*Frazier, E. Franklin, Black Bourgeoise (New York: Collier, 1962). Although published in 1955, this work still remains a source for understanding the problems and goals of the Negro middle-class.

Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1957). A classic study of Negro society.

*Ginzberg, Eli and Eichner, A. S., Troublesome Presence: *American Democracy and the Negro* (New York: New American Library, 1964). Discusses relationship of Amerpolitics to Negro discrimination.

*Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1965). A study of New York's separate ethnic groups that have not been absorbed into the "melting pot." Good section on the Negro.

*Goodman, Mary Ellen, *Race Awareness in Young Children* (New York: Collier, 1964).

*Gordon, Milton M., *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

*Gregory, Dick and R. Lipsyte, *Nigger* (New York: Pocket Books, 1964).

*Grimes, Alan Pendleton, *Equality in America: Religion, Race, and the Urban Majority* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

*Handlin, Oscar, *The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis* (New York: Anchor Books, 1959).

Hare, Nathan, *The Black Anglo-Saxons* (New York: Marzani & Munsell, 1966). A black sociologist looks critically at the Negro middle-class.

*Isaacs, Harold R., *New World of Negro Americans* (New York: Viking, 1964).

*Jones, LeRoi, *Home: Social Essays* (New York: Morrow, 1966)

**Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note* (New York: Citadel, 1961).

**System of Dante's Hell* (New York: Grove, 1966).

*King, Martin Luther, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958).

**Why We Can't Wait* (New York: New American Library, 1964). Especially "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," an eloquent and provocative statement of the rationale for the non-violent civil rights movement. (Also published in pamphlet form by the American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia.)

Kinzer, Robert H., and Sagarin, Edward, The Negro in American Business: Conflict Between Separatism and Integration (New York: Greenberg, 1950).

Lee, Irwin H., Negro Medal of Honor Men (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., in press). The story of black men in the U. S. armed forces.

Lincoln, C. Eric, The Black Muslim in America (Boston: Beacon, 1961).

*Lomax, Louis E., The Negro Revolt (New York: New American Library (Signet Books) 1963). A good summary of the civil rights movement between 1955 and 1962, although many sections are now out of date.

*Malcolm X, Autobiography (New York: Grove Press, 1965). Required reading for insight into ghetto life, black nationalism, and the life and mind of this extraordinary leader.

*Malcolm X Speaks (New York: Grove Press, 1966).

*McCarthy, Agnes and Reddick, Lawrence, Worth Fighting For (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965). A history of the Negro during the Civil War era, designed for secondary pupils.

*McWilliams, Carey, Brothers Under the Skin, Revised edition, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964). Revised in 1951, with a 1964 introduction.

*Mendelson, Wallace, Discrimination (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1962). An overview of discrimination based upon the 1961 Report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

Moore, Richard B., The Name "Negro": Its Origins and Evil Use (New York: Afro-American Publishers, 1960). An attack upon the use of the term "Negro."

Parsons, Talcott and Clark, K. B., editors, The Negro American (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1966). A collection of recent essays.

Reddick, Lawrence D., Crusader Without Violence: Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York: Harper & Row, 1959).

*Rose, Arnold, The Negro in America (New York: Harper & Row,

1944, rev. ed. 1962 with new 1963 introduction in latest edition)(Torchbooks). A condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, this study of Negro-White relations through the early 1940's is still valuable, although no longer "current" in every respect.

*Sexton, Patricia C., *Spanish Harlem* (New York: Harper, 1965). Information on Puerto Ricans of African background.

*Silberman, Charles E., *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Random, 1964). A good analysis of the black-white racial confrontation in America.

Simpson, G. E. and Yinger, J. M., *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953).

Thompson, Danial C., *The Negro Leadership Class* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

Thompson, Edgar, *Race: Individual and Collective Behavior*, edited by Everett Hughes (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958).

*Warner, W. Lloyd, *American Life: Dream and Reality* rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Wilson, James O., *Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960).

Wright, Nathan, Jr., *Black Power and Urban Unrest: Creative Possibilities* (New York: Hawthorn, 1967). A constructive look at the manner in which "black power" can be utilized as a basis for building a better America.

A book which explores the psychological problems of being Negro in a white-dominated world:

Fanon, Frantz, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967). $5.00

5. Sources on the Education of Culturally Different and Low-Income Groups

The educational problems posed by culturally different and low-income populations are neither uniquely confined to the United States nor to this century. Virtually all complex societies have possessed heterogeneous populations, beginning with the cosmopolitan, multi-lingual empires of the mediterranean-mesopotamian-Indian subcontinent region. In ancient times, Buddhist teachers, to cite one example of early cross-cultural education, traveled throughout south and east Asia, encountering many diverse languages and cultures. Similarly, low-income populations have frequently possessed their own viable educational systems (as in Vietnam before the French conquest) or have participated in successful mass education programs (as in the great period of Islamic civilization prior to the fifteenth century).

At the present time most of the world's nation-states possess cultural and linguistic minorities, including Great Britain. France, Spain, Switzerland. the Soviet Union, China, India, Mexico, New Zealand, and Canada (to name but a few). Most such states also possess low-income groups.

Ideally, a guide to studies in the area of the education of culturally different and low-income groups should be international and comparative in approach, but little is available at this time which transcends national or even sub-national ethnic boundaries. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) does publish items such as World Survey of Education and the International Yearbook of Education, as well as monographs on particular topics. Catalogues or lists of material available from UNESCO can be obtained from UNESCO Publications Center, 317 East 34th Street, New York 10016.

Information or possibly bibliographies may be obtained from countries such as New Zealand (Maori education), Mexico (Bi-lingual education for native groups), and Israel (programs for low-income and culturally different groups) by writing to their respective ministries of education.

Bibliographies are more readily available for studies conducted in the United States. Elinor F. McCloskey's Urban Disadvantaged Pupils (Northwest Regional Laboratory, 710 S. W. Second Ave., Portland, Oregon) contains a list of ninety-nine studies and books dealing primarily with the education of low-income urban pupils. The United States Office of Education, Educational Materials Center, has available The Educational of Disadvantaged Children: A Bibliography. This bibliography is not exhaustive but it does contain lists of some of the professional studies available as well as teacher guides and reports published by local school districts and state departments of education.

The Harvard Research and Development Center on Educational Differences has published an Annotated Bibliography on School Racial Mix and the Self Concept, Aspirations, Academic Achievement and Interracial Attitudes and Behavior of Negro Children (Monograph No. 3, Harvard Research and Development Center on Educational Differences, Cambridge, Massachusetts). This is a valuable compilation of educational research pertinent to Negro education along with relevant socio-psychological studies. The Research Annual on Inter-Group Relations (Anti-Defamation League) also is a good source of information relating to minority group research currently in progress.

Several bibliographies of research reports and books dealing with American Indian education, and therefore relevant to the education of all culturally different populations, have been issued. One, prepared by the staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is being distributed by the National Research Conference on American Indian Education, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania (this is a limited quantity publication and large numbers of copies may not be available). Another was prepared by Harry F. Wolcott of the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon (this is likewise a limited quantity publication).

Urban Education, an Annotated Bibliography together with Supplement I has been issued by Project True, Hunter College, New York (1963). Integrated Education Associates, Chicago, Illinois, has published Meyer Weinberg's Research on School Desegregation: Review and Prospect which summarizes research as of 1965 pertinent to the subjects of segregation and integration. The Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged, Yeshiva University, New York has issued a bibliography relating to the "disadvantaged" (IRCD Bulletin 1, September, 1965).

Miles V. Zintz' Education Across Cultures (Brown Book Co., Dubuque, Iowa) contains an extensive bibliography of books and articles pertinent to the education of minority and low-income groups while Jack D. Forbes' Mexican-Americans: A Handbook for Educators (Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, Berkeley, California) adds a few additional items relating to Mexican-American education. Other works dealing with minority group education will normally also possess bibliographies of value.

Many journals contain articles and book reviews pertinent to this area, including Human Organization, Current Anthropology, Social Problems, Social Issues, Social Forces, Sociology and Social Research, UNESCO Courier, Journal of Negro Education, Journal of American Indian Education, Sociology and Social Research, Integrated Education, Journal of Human Relations, Phylon, and Journal of Sociology of Education, in addition to standard educational periodicals and publications such as Daedalus and Saturday Review The vast amount of research data being accumulated in this area will ultimately be available in a more manageable form from ERIC (Educational Research Information Center). Currently available is a monthly summary of educational research projects supported by Office of Education funds (Research in Education) and Catalog of Selected Documents on the Disadvantaged: A Number and Author Index (OE-37001, 65¢) and Subject Index (OE-37002, $3). The latter two items are available from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

The several published bibliographies cited above are, taken together, quite comprehensive. The reader may wish also to consult works referenced in the section on "Sources Dealing With the Effects of Conquest and Colonialism" in order to obtain insight into the educational problems resulting from coercive or rapid culture change induced by conquest.

6. Sources on Race Formation and Race Mixture

Many works contain summaries of the process of race mixture or miscegenation but few current sources deal with the subject in an adequate or comprehensive manner. E. Franklin Frazier's Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World contains several chapters which briefly examine the subject on a world-wide basis; Lerone Bennett, Jr.'s Before the Mayflower has a chapter on race mixture in the United States which is of value as an introductory source; and most histories of the Negro in America or of slavery make some reference to black-white miscegenation. Jack D. Forbes' The Indian in America's Past contains a chapter on race mixture involving Indians, Africans, and Europeans.

Persons wishing to possess some breadth of knowledge in this area must, unfortunately, consult a number of sources which deal with specific regions or time periods. Among the most useful are the following:

Adams, Romanzo, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii (New York: MacMillan, 1937).

Barron, Milton L., People Who Intermarry (Syracuse University Press, 1946).

Beltrán, Gonzalo Aguirre, La Poblacion Negra de Mexico, 1519 - 1890 (Mexico, D. F., Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1946).

Berry, Brewton, Almost White (New York: MacMillan, 1963) A fine study of the Indian-white-black mixed-bloods of the eastern United States.

Diller, Aubrey, Race Mixture Among the Greeks Before Alexander (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1937).

*Dollard, John, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937 [1957 third edition]) Has an excellent chapter on race mixture in the South in the 1930's.

Dover, Cedric, Half-Caste (London: Secker & Warburg, 1937).

DuPuy, William Atherton, Hawaii and Its Race Problem (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932) A study of race mixture in Hawaii in 1931.

Estabrook, Arthur E., Mongrel Virginians, The Win Tribe (Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins, 1926) Information on part-Indian mixed bloods of southwest Virginia.

*Freyre, Gilberto, The Masters and the Slaves (New York: Knopf, 1946). Contains information on race mixture in Brazil.

Gordon, Albert Isaac, Intermarriage (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964). A recent book about intermarriage, but one which is not based upon time-depth research.

Gulick, Sidney L., Mixing the Races in Hawaii (Honolulu, Hawaiian Board Book Rooms, 1937).

Henriques, Fernando M., Family and Colour in Jamaica (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1953).

Hernton, Calvin, Sex and Racism in America (New York: Doubleday, 1965). An interesting book with many keen observations. On the other hand, it is not based upon time-depth research and is affected by the author's personal "hang-ups."

*Herskovitz, Melville J., The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1928).

"The Color Line," American Mercury, Vol. VI, No. 22, October, (1925), pp. 204-8.

Hughes, Everett Cherrington and Helen MacGill Hughes, Where People Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952). Has information on race mixture in the West Indies and elsewhere, and general data on mixed-bloods in the South.

Morais, J. S., The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1927 (New York: Longmans, Green, 1939). Deals with the African-European mixed bloods of South Africa.

Octavio da Costa, Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil, A Study in Acculturation (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1949).

Pierson, Donald, Negroes in Brazil, A Study of Racial Contact at Bahia. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

Ramos, Arthur, Le Métissage au Brésil (Paris: Hermann, 1952). A good account of race mixture in Brazil.

Reuter, Edward Byron, The Mulatto in the United States, Including a Study of the Role of Mixed-blood Races Throughout the World (Boston: Badger, 1918). A dated but nonetheless useful work.

Reuter, Edward Byron, *Race Mixture; Studies in Intermarriage and Miscegenation* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1931).

Rowland, Leon, *Los Fundadores* (Fresno: Academy of California Church History, 1951) Lists names of Spanish-speaking men in California, 1769 - 1785, and gives racial character. Not complete.

Shapiro, Harry L., *The Heritage of the Bounty* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962) A Study of British-Polynesian hybrids.

________.**Race Mixture* (New York: UNESCO, 1953)

Snowden, Frank M., Jr., "The Negro in Ancient Greece," *American Anthropology*, Vol. 50, No. 1, pt. 1, m.s., Jan.-March, 1948, pp. 31-44. Provides insight into the dispersal of African genes into European populations.

Stonequist, E. V., "Race Mixture and the Mulatto" in E. T. Thompson, ed., *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1939).

Tax, Sol, et al, *Heritage of Conquest: The Ethnology of Middle America* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952).

Woodson, Carter G., "The Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. III, No. 4, October, 1918).

In addition to the above, are many specialized articles in journals such as the *American Anthropologist*, *Journal of Social Forces*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Journal of Negro History*, *Phylon*, *American Sociological Review*, *Sociology and Social Research*, *Opportunity* (1920's), *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, *Revista de Indias*, *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, and others. Periodical indexes should be consulted under headings such as mulattoes, mestizos, miscegenation, amalgamation, eurasians, race mixture, race relations, mixed-bloods, et cetera.

The many publications of the Institute of Race Relations (distributed by Oxford University Press) on Africans in Britain, Jamaica, et cetera, are also very useful, as are histories of the various Afro-Caribbean and Latin American republics. The *Research Annual on Intergroup Relations* published by the Anti-Defamation League (315 Lexington Avenue, New York, 10016) provides up to date information on current research studies in this and related fields.

As regards *race formation*, the reader desiring the most recent information, some of which is highly technical, will wish to consult the indexes of periodicals such as *American Anthropologist*, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, *Current Anthropology*, and *Scientific American*, as well as even more technical journals serving the fields of human biology and genetics.

Helpful books include the following:

Benedict, Ruth, *The Races of Mankind* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1943) A popular and somewhat dated survey. Benedict's *Race: Science and Politics* (1945) includes similar information.

Boyd, W. C. *Genetics and the Races of Man* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950) An excellent source, applying genetic theory to the subject of human races.

Boyd, W. C., and Asimov, I., *Races and People* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1955)

Coon, C. S., Garn, S. M., and Birdsell, J. B., *Races: A Study of the Problem of Race Formation in Man* (Springfield: Thomas, 1950). An excellent source.

Coon, C. S., Hunt, E. E. Jr., *The Living Races of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1965) The reader should check the February-April, 1967 issue of *Current Anthropology* for critical reviews of Coon's work. In general, this book and the one cited below are highly controversial in anthropology and biology and have been severely criticized by many anthropological reviewers.

Coon, C. S., *The Origin of Races* (New York: Knopf, 1962)

Count, E. W. ed., *This is Race* (New York: Schumann, 1950) An anthology of anthropological writings on race, mostly written before the rise of genetic-based analyses.

Dobzhansky, Theodosius, *Evolution, Genetics, and Man* (New York: Wiley, 1955) A text-type survey with summaries of data on human types and evolution.

Dunn, L. C., *Heredity and Evolution in Human Populations* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960).

*Dunn. L. C., and Theodore Dobzhansky, *Heredity, Race and Society* (New York: New American Library, 1952). A popular survey.

Dunn, L. C., *The Race Question in Modern Science* (New York: Unesco and Whiteside, 1956). Includes a section on "Race and Biology."

Gersons, Stow, ed., Evolutionary Thought in America (New York: 1956) Includes selections by Dobzhansky and others.

Kalmus H., Genetics (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1948) A general overview of the field of genetics.

Korn, Noël, and Harry Reece Smith, ed., Human Evolution: Readings in Physical Anthropology (New York: Holt, 1959). A college level text which includes several excellent readings representing scholarly opinion on race formation as of the late 1950's.

Montagu, Ashley, Man's Most Dangerous Myth (New York: Harper, 1952). There is also a more recent and enlarged edition.

7. Sources on Black Arts: Novels, Poetry, Drama, and Music

What can be said of all art is particularly true of black American art: it is an indispensable source of insight into the human condition. As a vital and integral segment of American culture, black literature, both in quality and amplitude, is persistently undervalued. Certainly it is not given the attention in American schools that, say, certain white regional or Puritan literatures are.

The history of the black novel is mainly a history of protest fiction. The early Post-Reconstruction works sought to combat the prevailing "Sambo" clichés with counter-stereotypes of genteel or so-called "white" Negro characters. They are mostly out of print, but it would be worthwhile to find one or two in libraries, such as William Wells Brown's Clotel or J. McHenry Jones' Hearts of Gold, to get a clear sense of the middle-class "Talented Tenth" elitism that the Harlem writers from the 1920's on were repudiating when they began to write about the common man. Two early successes recently reprinted are William Demby's *Beetlecreek (New York: Avon, 1950) and James Weldon Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man (New York: Hill & Wang, 1960). Perhaps the most outstanding novel from this period is Gene Toomer's Cane (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923).

After World War II novelists have been more concerned with art than protest and have cast the "Negro Problem" in a universal perspective, producing what are certainly major works:

*Baldwin, James, Go Tell It On The Mountain (New York: Signet, 1953).

*Ellison, Ralph, The Invisible Man (New York: New American Library, 1952). Winner of the National Book Award.

*Wright, Richard, Native Son (New York: Signet, 1962).

There has been a similar development in poetry, moving from genteel imitations of white verse to a superficial embodiment of folk dialect and slave themes, as exemplified by Paul Laurence Dunbar, to the mastery of jazz and Negro urban idioms by Langston Hughes, and a complete absorption of both ghetto reality and America's intellectual tradition, culminating thus far in the work of Pulitzer Prize-winning Gwendolyn Brooks, available in *Selected Poems (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).

Other sources of black poetry include:

*Bontemps, Arna, Editor, American Negro Poetry (New York: Hill & Wang, 1963). The best anthology to date.

Hughes, Langston and Bontemps, Arna, _The Poetry of the Negro, 1746-1949_ (New York: Doubleday, 1949). The best collection of earlier poetry; includes poets from the Caribbean.

*Hughes, Langston, _Selected Poems_ (New York: Knopf, 1959).

Editor, _New Negro Poets: U.S.A._ (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964).

McKay, Claude, _Home to Harlem_ (Pocket Books, 1928).

An outstanding example of black drama is:

*Hansberry, Lorraine, _Raisin in the Sun_ (New York: Signet, 1959). A moving play about an urban Negro family. Winner of Critics Circle Award.

Teachers may wish to use (with mature students) the more uncompromising contemporary plays, like Ossie Davis' race-war satire, _Purlie Victorious_, LeRoi Jones' _Dutchman_ and _The Slave_ (Apollo, 1964), or James Baldwin's _Blues for Mr. Charlie_ (Dell, 1964).

There are, of course, a large number of classic non-Negro works which significantly deal with Negro subjects, such as, Faulkner's _Intruder in The Dust_ and _Light in August_ (both in Modern Library paperback), Melville's _Benito Cereno_ (in *_Great Short Works_ published by Harper), O'Neill's _Emperor Jones_ (Appleton), and more recent works, *_A Member of the Wedding_ by Carson McCullers (New Directions) and Harper Lee's *_To Kill a Mockingbird_ (Harcourt).

Secondary sources on black literature include:

________. _The American Negro Writer and His Roots_ (New York: American Society of African Culture, 1960).

*Bone, Robert, _The Negro Novel in America_ (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958). Especially valuable, not merely as criticism, but as a sound study of Negro aesthetic culture.

Butcher, Margaret Just, _The Negro in American Culture_ (New York: New American Library, 1956). An introduction to black contributions in the arts.

Gloster, Hugh, _Negro Voices in American Fiction_ (Chappel-Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1948). Presents the Negro as his own interpreter. Deals with literature up to 1940.

*Gross, Seymour and Hardy, John Edward, editors, Images of the Negro in American Literature (University of Chicago Press, 1966). An anthology of interpretive and historical essays.

Hill, Herbert, editor, Soon, One Morning: New Writing by American Negroes, 1940-1962 (New York: Knopf, 1963). A good anthology of essays, fiction, and poems.

Isaacs, Edith J., The Negro in the American Theatre (New York: Theatre Arts, 1947).

Marshall, Herbert and Stock, Mildred, Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian (New York: Macmillan, 1958).

Redding, J. Saunders, "The Negro Writer: Shadow and Substance," Phylon (fourth quarter, 1950).

Many consider black music the Afro-American's most distinctive and influential contribution to American aesthetic culture, not only because it has been the wellspring of this country's allegedly most "original" art form, jazz, but because it has significantly permeated most of our musical idioms. A good deal has been written on black American folk music, spirituals, and blues. The following are good introductiory sources:

Courlander, Harold, Negro Folk Music, U. S. A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963). Sees Negro folk music as "the largest body of genuine folk music still alive in the U. S."

*Fisher, Miles M., editor, Negro Slave Songs in the United States (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association, 1963). (Citadel Paperback C121).

Handy, William C., Father of the Blues: An Autobiography, edited by Arna Bontemps. (New York: Macmillan, 1941).

Johnson, James Weldon and J. Rosamond Johnson, editors, The Books of American Negro Spirituals (New York: Viking, 1940). Contains The Book of American Negro Spirituals (1925) and The Second Book of Negro Spirituals (1926). Standard works on the subject.

*Jones, LeRoi, Blues People: Negro Music in White America (New York: Morrow, 1963). (Apollo paperback, A103). Discusses the nature and function of Negro music in American society.

*Stearns, Marshall W., The Story of Jazz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956). Third edition. Mentor paperback, MT 478. A good history with an extensive bibliography.

8. Sources Dealing With the Effects of Conquest, Colonialism and Culture Change.

Educators who desire a full understanding of the complexities involved in the position of the black population in the United States will wish to acquire some familiarity with the effects of conquest, colonialism, and culture change occurring within colonial or quasi-colonial contexts. Not only will an understanding of post-conquest and decolonialization phenomena provide a fuller comprehension of many aspects of Afro-American life, but it will help to provide insight into the ideological basis for much of the "revolutionary" strategy currently popular among urban black radicals, (e.g., the idea that violence or violent struggle is a necessary step in the psychological liberation of a colonialized people).

Basic to an understanding of black radical thinking is Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1966). Fanon, born in Martinique of African background and trained in France as a doctor specializing in mental disorders, joined the Algerian rebels rather than serve with the French army. He literally gave his life to the cause of Algerian independence, dying of cancer at the age of thirty-six in 1961. The Wretched of the Earth, which provides an understanding of the psychological as well as socio-political effects of conquest and "national liberation" processes, was written in Fanon's last year of life. It should be read prior to reading the preface by Jean-Paul Sartre, in this writer's opinion, since Sartre somewhat distorts Fanon's message. The Wretched of the Earth is suitable for use by senior-level high school students working closely with a sophisticated and well-read teacher.

Other sources useful in terms of introducing a person to this area of study include:

Balandier, Georges, Ambiguous Africa: Cultures in Collision (New York: Pantheon, 1966). A specialist in African sociology explores the problems of decolonialization, revealing in the process many of the effects of conquest.

*Forbes, Jack D., The Indian in America's Past (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964). Includes chapters, such as "The Conquered" and "Red Slavery," which illustrate some of the effects of conquest and colonialization.

*Frazier, E. Franklin, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965). A basic introduction to modern interethnic relations involving conquest and colonialism. Frazier's footnotes will guide the reader to many other sources.

*Josephson, Eric and Mary, ed., Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society (New York: Dell, 1962). Deals with many aspects of alienation including that resulting from inter-ethnic confrontations.

Kardiner, Abram and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression (New York: Norton, 1951). Explores the psychological effects of denigration.

Maunier, Rene, The Sociology of Colonies (London, Routledge & Paul, 1949).

Memmi, Albert, The Colonizer and the Colonized (New York: Orion Press, 1965).

Price, A Grenville, White Settlers and Native Peoples (Cambridge: University Press, 1950). A comparative study of European-native relations in such areas as North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

*Turnbull, Colin, The Lonely African (New York: Doubleday, 1962). An excellent portrayal of the effects of conquest as revealed in a number of life-histories.

More technical interests may be served by the following works, dealing with acculturation and culture change.

Malinowski's many studies and especially The Dynamics of Culture Change; Beal's "Acculturation" (in Kroeber, Anthropology Today); Hunter's Reaction to Conquest: Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa; Rivers' Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia; Herskovitz' various works including Acculturation: A Study of Culture Contact; Redfield's The Primitive World and Its Transformations (and his specific studies of the Maya); and Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa.

During the last two decades a large body of literature relating to socio-cultural change and mental illness has developed. Much of this literature is theoretical in nature or is based upon insights gained in clinical psychology or in socio-anthropological field studies. Of the more general works relating to this subject, the following are cited to illustrate this growing body of literature: the many studies of Wallace including his general Culture and Personality and his more technical "Stress and Rapid Personality Changes" (International Record of Medicine, v. 169, 1956), "Revitalization Movements" (American Anthropologist, v. 58, 1956), and "Mazeway Disintegration: the Individual's Perception of Socio-cultural Disorganization" (Human Organization, v. 16, 1957); Leighton, Clausen and Wilson, Explorations in Social Psychiatry; Ruesch, et. al., "Acculturation and Illness" (Psychological Monographs, v. 62, 1948); Beaglehele, "Cultural Complexity and

Psychological Problems" (in Mullahy, A Study of Interpersonal Relations); Benedict, "Mental Illness in Primitive Societies" (Psychiatry, v. 17, 1954); Thompson, "Attitudes and Acculturation" (American Anthropologist, v. 50, 1948); Mead's "The Implications of Culture Change for Personality Development" American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, v. 17, 1947) and various other studies; Hallowell's "Values, Acculturation and Mental Health" (American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, v. 20, 1950) and other articles: Kardiner's several works; Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change; Linton's The Cultural Background of Personality and Culture and Mental Disorders; Malzberg, Migration and Mental Disease; Kluckhohn and Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and Culture; and M. K. Opler's Culture, Psychiatry and Human Values and other works.

A number of specific studies are referred to or reported upon in the above sources, but others are contained in such works as Opler's Culture and Mental Health. Many monographic articles and books are also pertinent--they range from Caudill, "Japanese-American Personality and Acculturation" (Genetic Psychology Monographs, v. 45, 1952), and Tooth, Studies in Mental Illness in the Gold Coast; to Bakke, Citizens Without Work.

Studies of "alienation" are often relevant to sociocultural change, as for example, Erikson, "Identity and Uprootedness in Our Time" (in Uprooting and Resettlement), and "Symposium of Alienation and the Search for Identity" (American Journal of Psychoanalysis, v. 21, 1961).

Socio-psychological studies of native American peoples may also be pertinent. Spicer's Cycles of Conquest, is of value in dealing with acculturation, conquest, and resistance to conquest. Also of import to those desiring a comparative knowledge of the socio-psychological effects of conquest-induced culture change are such works as Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navaho; Macgregor, Warriors Without Weapons; Linton, ed., Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes; Redfield's "Culture Change in Yucatan" (American Anthropologist, v. 36, 1934) and other studies; Hallowell, "Ojibwa: Personality and Acculturation" (Proceedings, International Congress of Americanists, v. 29, 1952); Wallace, "Some Psychological Determinants of Culture Change in an Iroquoian Community" (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 149, 1951); and Spindler, ed., Socio-cultural and Psychological Processes in Menominee Acculturation.

9. Periodicals and Pamphlets

Periodicals dealing with Negro affairs, race relations, Africa, and other subjects relevant to this handbook are numerous, both in terms of those which are suitable for secondary-level classroom use and in terms of those which are useful for library use and teacher reference.

Local black newspapers should be available in the school and in appropriate classes because of the relevance of their reporting to major issues for discussion in social science courses. On the other hand, the quality of Negro-published newspapers, as with white publications, is uneven and some Negro papers are concerned primarily with covering the "society scene." School personnel will, therefore, have to be sure that the newspapers which they elect to use include at least one which attempts to give voice to the feelings of lower-income or more activist-oriented black people. The following is an incomplete list of black dailies and weeklies published in the West:

Alaska: Alaska Spotlight, Anchorage, Alaska (weekly).

California: Berkeley Post, Berkeley, California (weekly).

The Black Panther, P. O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California (monthly).

California Eagle, Los Angeles, California, (weekly).

California Voice, Oakland, California (weekly).

The Flatlands, P. O. Box 10287, Oakland, California (monthly).

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch, Los Angeles, California (semi-weekly).

Los Angeles Record, Los Angeles, California (weekly).

Los Angeles Sentinel, Los Angeles, California (weekly).

The Movement, 449 14th St., San Francisco, California (monthly).

Sacramento Observer, Sacramento, California (weekly).

San Diego Lighthouse, San Diego, California (weekly).

The Sun Reporter, San Francisco, California (weekly).

Colorado: Denver Blade, Denver, Colorado (weekly).

Denver Star, Denver, Colorado (weekly).

Missouri: Kansas City Call, Kansas City, Missouri (Weekly).

Nevada: Las Vegas Voice, Las Vegas, Nevada (weekly).

Oklahoma: Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (weekly).

Oklahoma Eagle. Tulsa, Oklahoma (weekly).

In addition to the above, several eastern Negro newspapers are widely read in the Far West:

The Amsterdam News, New York, New York
The Baltimore Afro-American, Baltimore, Maryland
The Chicago Defender, Chicago, Illinois
Muhammad Speaks, Chicago, Illinois
The Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Black magazines (monthlies or bi-weeklies) are also necessary resources for the school. The following are especially recommended:

The Crisis (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40th St., New York, $1.50). A monthly focusing on civil rights but containing also book reviews, articles on Negro life and history, and an annual list of books by black authors.

Ebony (1820 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, $5.00). A magazine of excellent quality which ordinarily serves as a voice for the Negro leadership elite and has a middle-class orientation.

Liberator (Afro-American Research Institute, 244 E. 46th St. New York, $3.00). A monthly magazine which provides an outlet for black radical viewpoints of varying degrees. A necessary supplement to magazines of the Ebony type.

Negro Digest (1820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois, $3.00). A monthly featuring original articles which generally strike a middle-ground between the Ebony and Liberator viewpoints.

Probe (a new magazine published in New York, at 136 W. 52nd St., New York City.)

Numerous quarterlies dealing with United States Negro history and affairs are also available for library and teacher use. These include:

Freedomways (Freedomways Associates, Inc., 799 Broadway, New York, $5.00). A quarterly which mixes together scholarly articles, essays, book reviews, and poetry.

Integrated Education (Integrated Associates, 343 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois) bimonthly.

Interracial Review (Catholic Interracial Council of New York, 233 Broadway, New York, N. Y.)

Journal of Intergroup Relations (National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO), 49 Sheridan Avenue, Albany, New York.) quarterly.

Journal of Human Relations, Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio. A quarterly composed of scholarly articles, essays and book reviews dealing with the broader issues relevant to inter-group relations.

Journal of Negro Education, Howard University, Washington, D. C. Focuses attention upon educational issues relevant to black people.

Journal of Negro History, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. A major quarterly dealing with the history of Afro-American peoples.

Phylon: the Atlantic University Review of Race and Culture, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. An excellent quarterly with historical and contemporary scholarly articles dealing with race relations.

For other quarterlies with occasional articles on the Negro and race relations topics see the various other sections of this guide.

Quarterlies and journals dealing with Africa include:

African Abstracts, International African Institute, St. Dunstan's Chambers, 10/11 Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4. A quarterly review of articles appearing in current periodicals. A guide to specialized journals.

African Forum, American society of African Culture, 720 Fifth Avenue, New York 10019. A quarterly dealing with political, social, economic, and cultural developments of the African nations and the American Negro.

Journal of African History, School of Oriental and African Studies, Cambridge University Press. The standard quarterly on African history.

Pamphlets and mimeographed materials reflecting the concerns of the black community comprise a significant set of resources for use in secondary-level social studies classrooms. Addresses of local organizations can be secured from people in the community. National and regional headquarters of the major organizations may also be able to supply material and local addresses.

Afro-American Research Institute, Inc. 244 E. 46th St., New York.

Black Panther Party for Self Defense, P. O. Box 8641, Emeryville Station, Oakland, California.

Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.

Lowndes County Freedom Organization, 125 Route 1, Haynesville, Alabama.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Box 275, Sunflower, Mississippi.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40th St., New York.

Nation of Islam, 5335 So. Greenwood, Chicago, Illinois 60615.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Avenue N.E. Atlanta, Georgia.

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Council, 8 1/2 Raymond St., N.W. Atlanta, Georgia; and 449 14th St., San Francisco, California.

Urban League of the Bay Area, 1607 McAllister, San Francisco, California.

Even the most controversial materials may be extremely useful if subjected to discussion and analysis in high school classes and balanced by the presentation of contrary viewpoints. It must be borne in mind that from the viewpoint of a large segment of the black community such widely used magazines as Life, Time, Newsweek, and Reader's Digest are not regarded as objective sources but rather as more or less one-sided white-oriented periodicals. Their exclusive use in the classroom without being balanced by black-oriented or "left-liberal" publications is as much indoctrination as would be the exclusive use of The Nation, or Mr. Muhammad Speaks.

Extremely useful for history classes will be the records of black organizations (churches, clubs, civic groups, et cetera) and the reminiscences and memoirs of individuals. Ordinarily, of course, the "originals" cannot be obtained by the school but students can make "oral history" tape recordings and handwritten, Xeroxed, or microfilm copies. These records can then serve as a basis for the writing of local histories by students. By this means the students can not only be involved in an important process--the recording of local Afro-American history--but they can learn the real meaning of history as a discipline, as a process of uncovering, analyzing and synthesizing evidence, rather than as simply a recital of already discovered "facts."

In the same manner, of course, high school students can be encouraged to carry out anthropological, sociological, and demographic studies in their community, using local records supplemented by field observation and sampling techniques.

Pamphlets, mimeographed material, unpublished data, and local periodicals together can be very useful for any school, no matter what ethnic group is being served. In an urban setting among low-income pupils such material, when used in imaginative ways, can be especially important in terms of making the school relevant to the local community and to the lives of the pupils. Hopefully such an approach will enhance motivation and will at the same time serve to convey the real nature of education as a process of active understanding and discovery rather than as a passive acceptance of information produced by others.

B. Audio-Visual Sources

The acquisition of audio-visual materials of appropriate quality and relevance is always a difficult and never-ending task. Perhaps the following suggestions will open up new avenues for the gathering together of such aids, but it must be borne in mind that no guidebook can take the place of imagination and perseverance on the part of school personnel.

The local Afro-American community will ultimately comprise the best source for the greater part of audio-visual materials used in any given school. But no matter where such materials are acquired, they should be reviewed by representatives of the local community. Illustrations from the National Geographic Magazine or even from Ebony may seem quite appropriate to middle-class teachers but may be unacceptable to local black people; or it may well be that the total context in which illustrations or other media are used may be acceptable while the individual units are not, or vice versa. Interaction with the local community will serve to prevent the kind of, perhaps, unconscious partisanship which sees middle-class school personnel posting pictures of Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young while failing to display poster-portraits of Malcolm X and Muhammad Ali.

1. Recordings:

The Afro-American population has so dominated the field of popular music in the United States that recordings of current black contributions are impossible to overlook. It may be worth pointing out, however, that other types of African and Afro-American music, along with speeches and poetry readings, are also available on recordings.

The Archive of Folk Song of the Library of Congress publishes a catalog of available recordings, entitled Folk Music. This catalog is available from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402 for 40¢. Available in the Archive of Folk Song are "Afro-American Spirituals, Work Songs, and Ballads" (AAFS L3, LP 33 1/3 rpm, $4.95 or AAFS 11-15, Album 3, 78 rpm, $8.11), "Afro-American Blues and Game Songs" (AAFS L4, LP 33 1/3 rpm, $4.95 or AAFS 16-20, Album 4, 78 rpm, $8.00), "Bahaman Negro Songs" (AAFS 21, 78 rpm, $1.48), "Negro Work Songs and Calls" (AAFS L8, LP 33 1/3 rpm, $4.95 or AAFS 36-40, Album 8, 78 rpm, $7.67), "Negro Game Songs" (AAFS 45, 78 rpm, $1.75), "Negro Religious Songs and Services" (AAFS 46-50, Album 10, 78 rpm, $8.75 or AAFS L10, LP 33 1/3 rpm, $4.95), "Afro-Bahian Religious Songs from Brazil" (AAFS 61-65, Album 13, 78 rpm, $8.75 or AAFS L13, LP 33 1/3 rpm, $4.95), "Negro Blues and Hollers" (AAFS L59, LP 33 1/3 rpm, $4.95), "Animal Tales Told in the Gullah Dialect" (AAFS L44-46, three 33 1/3 rpm records, $4.95 each), along with many recordings of non-African folk music (American Indian, et cetera). These records may be ordered from the Library of Congress, Music Division - Recording Laboratory, Washington, D. C. 20540.

Columbia Records, Education Department, 799 Seventh Avenue, New York 10019, also issues a brochure which lists the folk records available on the "Columbia" and "Epic" labels. Included are recordings of "Venezuelan Folk and Aboriginal Music" (Afro-Venezuelan, Indian, etc.), "Songs of the Caribbean," "Jamaican Drums," "African Music from the French Colonies," "Bantu Music from British East Africa," "Olatunji" (Nigerian), and other titles. These may be purchased in record stores or ordered directly. Write to the above address for the latest price lists and other information.

Folkways Records, (121 West 47th Street, New York) has an excellent selection of Afro-American recordings ranging from the poetry of Langston Hughes to civil rights documentaries to folk and freedom songs. Write to the above address for price lists and information. Similarly, write to Ethnic Folkways Records, 165 West 46th Street, New York, for information on their African recordings.

A visit to a good record store specializing in folk music will reveal numerous other recordings of African and Afro-American music or, if such a store is not readily available, lists of such recordings may be acquired from individual record companies.

Larger record stores, such as Sherman, Clay and Company (Record Department, 141 Kearny St., San Francisco) and Berkeley Music House (2538 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, California), are often willing to handle mail order requests from those persons who do not have ready access to a local source of folk and ethnic recordings.

The Educators Guide to Free Social Studies Materials lists recordings available at no charge from various kinds of agencies; however, these must be examined carefully for evidence of propaganda. Recordings dealing with Negro history are also available from firms serving the educational market but these tend to become out-of-date rapidly as research and new events serve to alter popular views of the past. Such recordings need to be reviewed carefully by appropriate persons in order to validate accuracy and perspective.

2. Wall Charts, Pictures, and Posters:

Magazines such as Ebony, Sepia, Liberator, and Probe are excellent sources of pictures for bulletin boards and, along with The Crisis, Negro Digest, and local newspapers, sources as well for information on currently available posters and special items.

Posters and illustrative material depicting current aspects of African, Afro-Caribbean, and Afro-Brazilian life may be obtained from the consulates of African and American governments as well as from airlines serving these regions.

Other sources for illustrative material or guides thereto include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Suite 703, 948 Market Street, San Francisco, California 94102; and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20001; Friendship Press (475 Riverside Drive, New York 10027) has published a set of portrait-type reproductions of notable personages of African ancestry including such individuals as James Baldwin, Roy Wilkins, Robert C. Weaver, Martin Luther King, Jr., Althea Gibson, John Hope Franklin, and Carl Rowan. These may be supplemented by posters of Malcolm X available from The Movement (449 14th St., San Francisco, California) for one dollar each.

The gathering together of an adequate supply of posters and pictures can be an excellent parent-teacher cooperative project. Involving the parents in such an endeavor will serve to activate local sources of material and will also help to insure the acceptability of the items placed on display.

Illustrative material is to some degree available from commercial agencies serving the educational market, such as the illustrated booklet and wall-size mural on "The American Negro" published by Rand McNally and Company (P. O. Box 7600, Chicago, Illinois 60680).

3. Films and Filmstrips:

The African Film Bibliography 1965, published by the African Studies Association, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, is a useful guide to over three hundred films dealing with sub-Saharan Africa. The films are annotated in such a way as to make the guide especially useful for teachers. On the other hand, many of the films are the products of agencies with a viewpoint to popularize (corporations with investments to protect, missionary organizations, governments, etc.) and the teacher must exercise caution in exposing her pupils to one-sided or propagandistic material.

The Educators Guide to Free Social Studies Materials contains references to films dealing with Africa and Afro-Americans, but the propagandistic element in these "free" films is apt to be extremely high.

Commercial concerns are producing films and filmstrips for the school market dealing with American Negro history, race relations, and the Civil Rights movement. The accuracy and acceptability of these commercial products is not uniformly high however, and they should be previewed before purchase by persons familiar with current conditions and recent research, including especially individuals from the local black community.

The Oakland, California schools have produced a "Resource Guide for Teaching About Contributions of Minorities to American Culture" (1966) which lists and describes some of the commercial educational films dealing with the above subjects. The Berkeley, California Unified School District's unit on Negro history also contains reference to several filmstrips which their staff recommends for classroom use. Readers will also wish to check with their local educational television station for information on the availability of some of the excellent television productions dealing with Africa and Afro-Americans.

Commercial films intended for television broadcast or theatre viewing are sometimes especially to be recommended for school use at the secondary level. Among the excellent films of this type available are Black Orpheus (Orfeo Negro), a Brazilian production, and Nothing But a Man, A United States production.

Examples of other motion pictures of this type, suitable for "assemblies," are:

A Patch of Blue
Lilies of the Field
The Defiant Ones
Raisin in the Sun
Go Down Moses

Black Monday
Cry The Beloved Country

Motion pictures produced in non-white countries, such as India and Japan, might well be made available in assemblies so as to help reinforce efforts at cross-cultural education and to vividly convey a sense of the rich legacies of "colored" peoples. This may be especially important in communities lacking in theatres showing international films.

Guides to Hollywood-type commercial films should be useful in locating suitable motion pictures and making contacts with distributors. Useful guides include:

Films in Review (National Board of Reviewers of Motion Pictures, Inc., 31 Union Square, New York, $6.00 per year). Reviews United States 35 mm. films.

Film Reports (Film Board National Organization, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, monthly, free to libraries). Reviews United States and foreign 35 mm. films.

International Motion Picture Almanac (Quigley Publishing Co., 1270 Sixth Avenue, New York). A guide to 35 mm. films.

Title Guide to the Talkies, 1947-1963, by R. B. Dimmitt, 2 v. (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1965). An annotated guide to 35 mm. films.

Several commercial firms publish catalogues of commercial-type movies which are available for schools on 16 mm. film. Among these are:

Brandon International Films, Western Cinema Guild Inc.,
244 Kearny St., San Francisco.

Teaching Film Custodians, 25 West 43rd St., New York 36.

There are many other guides and catalogues available dealing with "educational films" especially prepared for school audiences and these should be obtainable in any district's audio-visual office. Bernard Klein's Guide to American Educational Directories (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) should serve as an initial source in case such guides have not been collected locally.

4. African and Afro-American Arts and Crafts:

African art pieces are increasingly becoming available in retail stores. Black publications often contain advertisements of local Afro-American art shops and Black Arts groups are increasingly active in major urban centers. Museums are now frequently displaying major exhibits of African folk arts.

School personnel in metropolitan areas should have little difficulty in locating sources of Afro-American and African art, via museums, retail stores, importers, or local black organizations. Educators in more isolated regions may have to travel to the city after first checking the classified telephone directory for references to the above types of agencies. Letters to the embassies of African and Afro-Caribbean governments may yield addresses of sources for genuine arts and crafts products from individual countries.

Items produced by Negroes in Mississippi can be obtained from Liberty House, P. O. Box 3193, Jackson, Mississippi.

For the most part, schools will have to be content with purchasing reproductions of African works of art. The following museums sell accurate reproductions *and issue catalogues:*

The British Museum, London, England, W.C.I.
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois
Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Issues "African Arts," $3.50 per year.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82nd St., New York.
Museum of African Art, Washington, D. C.
Museum of Primitive Art, 15 West 54th St., New York. Issues twenty relevant publications.
Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 33 Spruce, Philadelphia 19104.

Commercial organizations also deal in reproductions, such as Brentano's Inc., City of Paris, San Francisco, California 94108, which publishes a catalog. A catalog of art reproductions (where to get them) is published by Scarecrow Press of New York.

Books which may be of some value in providing background information prior to the building up of a collection of reproductions, and which are also useful in the classroom, include:

Fagg, William and Margaret Plass, African Sculpture (New York: Dutton, 1964).

Leuzinger, Elsy, African Sculpture (Zurich, Switzerland: Museum Rietberg Zürich, Atlantis Verlag, Zürich, 1963) German and English text.

Leuzinger, Elsy, *Art of Africa* (New York: Crown Publications, 1965).

Radin, Paul and James J. Sweeney, *African Folktales and Sculpture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2nd Edition, 1964). Teacher can read tales and show corresponding images.

Robbins, Warren, *African Art in American Collections* (New York: Praeger, 1966) il. $12.50. All American museums are listed.

Segg, Ladislas, *African Sculpture* (New York: Dover, 1964) $2.00.

Underwood, Leon. *Masks of West Africa* (New York: Transatlantic, 1948).

A film on "African Sculpture" is also available from Encyclopedia Britannica Films, 2494 Teagarden, San Leandro, California.

GPO 975-758